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CONTENTS

	PAGE
The gāthās and nārāyaṇī, the mātās and purāṇas of the Vedic literature	93
By Dr U. N. Ghoshal, M A , PH D	
Historical References in Jaina Poems	101
By Prof. Kalipada Mitra, M.A	
Early Indian Jewellery	110
By Kalyan K Ganguly, M A	
The Historical Background of the Works of Kālidāsa	128
By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M A , PH D.	
The Earliest Phases of the Company's Indigo Trade	137
By J. C. De, M A.	
Miscellany:	
Where was Setajuddowla captured?	156
By Sarit Sekhar Majumdar, M A	
Designation of Hell in the Rgveda and the Meaning of the Word Asat	158
By H G. Narahari, M A	
The Guṇapatākā	166
By Dr V Raghavan, M A , PH D	
Bharata Mallika and his Patron	168
By Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, M A.	
Śrī Śaṅkara in Cambodia?	175
By S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A.	
Reviews:	
Iranian and Indian Analogues of the Legend of the Holy Grail	180
By Dr A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., PH.D.	
The Mahābhārata—Āṭṭyakapuvvaṇ	181
By Prof. Chintamani Chakravarti, M A	
✓ The Development of Hindu Iconography	181
✓ India and the Pacific World	183
By Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M A , D LIT.	

	PAGE
Varna-ratnākara	184
Praveśaka	187
Vātarucanirukta Samuccaya	187
Bhāratvarsamam Jātibheda	188
By Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., PH.D.	
Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutab Shah	189
By K. Sajun Lal, M.A.	
Select Contents of Oriental Journals:	191

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No. 2

The gāthās and nārāśamsīs, the itihasas and purāṇas of the Vedic literature

However authentic the genealogies of the Vedic religious teachers and the Vedic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras* might be, they would form at best a skeleton of historical compositions properly so called. A more definite approach to history is marked by some ancillary branches of learning known to the Vedic times, to which we now refer. These are the gāthās and the nārāśamsīs which may be roughly translated as 'epic song verses' and 'songs in praise of heroes' respectively. [Cf. Winternitz, vol. I, p. 226]. Already in a passage of the late tenth book of the *Rgveda* (*Ibid.*, 85.6) gāthās and nārāśamsīs are mentioned as distinct but evidently allied types of composition, though elsewhere gāthā is used in the more general sense of 'songs'. [Cf. *Vedic Index*, s.v.] The *Atharva Veda*, XV, 6.3-4 mentions gāthās and nārāśamsīs as the last and evidently the least important of a series of enumerated texts. [The series runs as follows.—*raṇi*, *sāmāni*, *yajūmī*, *brahman*, *itiḥāṇi*, *purāṇam*, *gāthāḥ nārāśamsyaḥ*] The daily study of gāthās and nārāśamsīs (or *nārāśumī gāthās*) following that of the *Rik*, the *Yajus*, the *Sāman*, the *Atharvāṅgiras* and other texts is enjoined upon the householder in solemn and moving words in the *Brāhmana* and later works. [Cf. *Śat. Br.*, XI, 5.6.4-8 = *SBE*, vol. XLIV, pp. 96-98, *Taitt. Ar.*, II, 10, ed. Ānandāśrama Sansk. Series, vol. I p. 144, *Aśv. Gr. S.* III.3 = *SBE*, vol. XXIX, pp. 218-219. In these passages the various classes of texts are said to constitute as many forms of offerings to the gods, and their recitation is said to satiate not only the gods but also the Fathers.]

As forms of literary *genre*, though not as distinct branches of learning, the gāthās and nārāśamsīs have their parallels at least in part, in some hymns and portions of hymns in the *Rgveda* and *Atharva Veda Samhitās*. We refer, in the first instance, to the so-called *Dānastutis* ("Praises of Gifts"), which form the concluding verses of a number of *Rgvedic* hymns. Of these

hymns it has been said by a competent authority —“Some of them are songs of victory, in which the god Indra is praised, because he has helped some king to achieve a victory over his enemies. With the praise of the god is united the glorification of the victorious king. Finally, however, the singer praises his patron, who has presented him with oxen, horses and beautiful slaves out of the booty of war. Others are very long sacrificial songs, also mostly addressed to Indra, and they also are followed by verses in which the patron of the sacrifice is praised, because he gave the singer a liberal priestly fee” [Winternitz, vol. I, p. 114]. Another partial parallel is to be found in the so-called Kuntāpa hymns of the *Atharva Veda* [*Ibid.* XX, 127-136], of which we give below a specimen in Bloomfield’s translation [*SBE*, vol. XLII, pp. 197-198].—

“Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals of Vaiśvānara Parikṣit!

“Parikṣit has procured for us a secure dwelling, when he the most excellent one, went to his seat” (Thus) the husband in Kuru-lind, when he founds his household, converses with his wife

“What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink, or liquor?” Thus the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikṣit

“Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels) The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikṣit”

The gāthās and nārāyaṇī formed such a necessary accompaniment of Vedic sacrificial ceremonies that their recitation was incorporated in the rituals of some of the great sacrifices. We may illustrate this in the first instance from the example of the *Āśvamedha* which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 2.2.1 aptly calls ‘the king of sacrifices’, and which could only be performed by a victorious king or by a paramount ruler. [For a detailed account of the sacrifice according to the texts of the White Yajurveda, namely *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, *Śat Br* XIII, 1-5, *Kāty Śr S* XX, *Āśval Śr S* X 6-10, see now the excellent work of P-E Dumont, *L’Āśvamedha*, Paris-Louvain, 1927. The appendix to this contains trs. of the Black Yajurveda version as given in *Āpast Śr S*, XX, 1-23, *Baudh Śr S*, XV, 1-30 and some fragments of the *Śr S* of Vādhula]. On a number of occasions during the course of the sacrifice provision is made for the recitation of gāthās by musicians in praise of the sacrificer. On the day of letting loose of the sacrificial horse the *vināyanagins* (i.e., as explained by the commentator, the musicians who sang to the accompaniment of all sorts of lutes) are required to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of just kings of

ancient times. This was repeated daily during the whole year of the horse's wandering and was continued in the same way down to the day of the sacrificer's initiation (*dīkṣā*). Afterwards the musicians have to sing daily, as before, praises of the sacrificer along with those of the gods. (See Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 56, 68, giving full references). Towards the conclusion of the ceremony the musicians have to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of Prajāpati (*Ibid.*, pp. 111, 126, 230). Still more pointed reference is made to the contents of the gāthās in connection with some other portions of the ceremonial. On the day of letting loose the horse, a Brāhmana lute-player (*vīṇāgāthīn*) has to sing to the accompaniment of the *uttaraman-trā* (a kind of *vīṇā*, according to the commentator) three stanzas composed by himself on such topics as 'he performed such and such sacrifice' 'he gave such and such gifts'. On the same day a Brāhmana lute-player sings three gāthās similarly composed by himself and relating to the sacrifices and gifts of the sacrificer, while a Kṣatriya lute-player does the same on topics relating to the battles fought and the victories won by the sacrificer. This has to be repeated each day during the whole year. (Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 41-43, 304, 306).

In the above, it will be noticed, reference is made to gāthās celebrating generally the sacrificer's praises along with those of ancient kings or of gods, as well as those specifically praising the king's achievements as a sacrificer and conqueror. Concrete instances of these types are found in a series of more or less parallel texts of *Satapatha Brāhmana* (XIII, 5. 4. 1 ff.) and *Saṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra* (XVI, 9) listing the famous kings performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice and of *Āitareya Brāhmana* (VIII, 21-23) enumerating the kings who performed the 'Great Consecration' of Indra [A link between these two sets of lists is furnished by the fact that most of the kings performing the 'Great Consecration' are said in the *Āitareya Brāhmana* to have offered the horse sacrifice. Cf. the following — "With this great anointing of Indra Tura Kāvaseya anointed Janamejaya Pāṇikṣita. Thereupon Janamejaya Pāṇikṣita went round the earth, conquering, bringing in every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice." *Āit. Br.*, VIII, 21, Keith's trans.]. To take a few examples, the gāthā quoted about king Janamejaya Pāṇikṣita is as follows. —

"At Āsandīvant, a horse grass-eating,
Adorned with gold and yellow garland,
Of dappled hue, was bound,
By Janamejaya for the gods."

Ant Br, VIII, 21 Keith's tr (H O.S., XXV, p 336) = *Sat. Br*, XIII, 5 4 2 and with slight variations. *Śāṅkh Śr S* XVI, 9 1

Of king Marutta Āvikṣita the following gāthā is quoted —

"The Maruts as attendants
Dwelt in the house of Marutta.,
Of Āvikṣita Kāmapri
The All-gods were the assessors"

Ant Br, VIII, 21 Cf *Sat Br*, XIII, 5 4 6 *Śāṅkh Śr S*, XVI, 9 16

The gāthās of Kṛatya the Pāñcāla king, are introduced to us in the following way — "At Parivakṛā, the Pāñcāla overlord of the Kṛavis seized a horse meant for sacrifice, with offering gifts of a hundred thousand (head of cattle) "A thousand myriads there were, and five-and-twenty hundreds, which the Brāhmanas of the Pāñcālas from every quarter divided between them" *Sat Br*, XIII, 5 4 7-8 (Eggeling's tr)

Lastly the gāthās about Bharata son of Duhsanta, are as follows —

"Covered with golden trappings,
Beasts black with white tusks,
As Maṇvā Bharata gave,
A hundred and seven myriads

The great deed of Bharata,
Neither men before or after,
As the sky a man with his hands,
The five peoples have not attained"

Ant Br, VIII 23 = *Sat Br* XIII, 5 4 11 ff

The verses about Janamejaya Kṛatya and Bharata just quoted evidently belong to the class of gāthās in praise of kings' sacrifices and gifts to which reference is made in the account of the Aśvamedha sacrifice mentioned above. On the other hand the verse relating to Marutta Āvikṣita comes within the category of gāthās praising the kings along with the gods. Of another class of gāthās, those in honour of the gods, also referred to in the account of the Aśvamedha given above, it is unnecessary to speak in the present place. Concrete examples of this class are the Indragāthās ('songs in honour of Indra') to which reference is made in the *Atharvaveda* (XX, 128. 12-16) and the *Atareya Brahmana* (VI, 32)

As in the case of the ritual of the Aśvamedha, the recitation of gāthās was made by some authorities part and parcel of the *grhya* sacrificial ritual. One of the important 'domestic' rites is the Sīmantonayana ('parting of the hair') which is performed on the expectant mother in the fourth, sixth,

seventh or eighth month of pregnancy. Here the husband has to ask two lute-players (*vinā-gāthins*) to sing about the king or anybody else who is still more valiant (*Śaṅkhāyana Grhyasūtra*, I, 22, 11-12 and *Pāraskara Grhyasūtra*, I, 15, 7-8) or about king Soma (*Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra*, I, 14, 6-7).

Like the gāthās the nārāsaṃsī are also found to be incorporated in some of the great sacrificial ceremonies. The *Śaṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra*, in the course of its description of the Puruṣamedha sacrifice, mentions (*Ibid.*, XVI, 11 Bib. Ind. ed. pp. 205-6) a series of ten nārāsaṃsī which are to be sung in regular cycles of ten days' duration. Each of these is accompanied by a short statement of its subject-matter and a reference to the corresponding hymns of the *Rg-Veda*. We give below the list of these nārāsaṃsī according to the short description of the original text —

- 1 How Śunahśepa, son of Ajīgaita, was released from the sacrificial yoke,
- 2 How Kaksivant, descendant of Uśij, gained the gift from his patron,
- 3 How Śvāvāśva gained gift from his patron,
- 4 How Bharadvāja gained gifts from his two patrons,
- 5 How Vasistha became the Putrohita of Sudās,
- 6 How Āsanga Plāyogi, being a woman, became a man,
- 7 How Vatsa, descendant of Kanva, obtained gift from his patron,
- 8 How Vāśa Aśvya gained gift from his patron,
- 9 How Praskanya obtained gift from his patron,
- 10 How Nābhanevistiha descendant of Manu, obtained gift from Angiras.

It will be observed that the list given above consists, with one exception, of praises for gifts received or supplications to the deity for favours sought. The first and by far the more important class evidently falls into line with the *danastutis* of the *Rg-Veda* already mentioned.

We may now consider the important and difficult question regarding the composition and authorship of the works under notice. In the account of the Āśvamedha given above, reference is made to *vināganins* (musicians) singing praises of the sacrificer as well as Brāhmana and Kṣatriya *vināgāthins* (lute-players) composing and singing songs in honour of the sacrificer's achievements. Evidently then there already existed at this early period a class of minstrels who not only preserved and handed down but also composed songs in honour of human celebrities. This class, however, did not as yet form a closed caste or corporation, for individual Brāhmana and Kṣatriya musicians could play the same rôle. Evidence is not lacking that a professional class of bards or minstrels had already emerged in the late Samhitā and Brāhmana times. In the list

of symbolical victims at the Puruṣamedha occurring in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III 4) we find side by side the lute-player and the flute-player as well as the *māgadha* and the *sūta* so familiar in Epic and Paurāṇic texts of later times. On the precise functions of the Vedic *māgadha* and *sūta* there is some difference of opinion [See *Vedic Index*, s.v.], though their Epic and Paurāṇic successors stand for royal eulogists or panegyrists and sometimes for genealogists [See Pargiter, *The ancient Indian historical tradition*, pp 16-18, which gives full references].

The gāthās and nārāyaṇī occupy an important place in the development of Indian historical literature. Apart from the gāthās to the gods, they may be proved by references in the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas to relate to historical characters and incidents, [Thus Janamejaya Pāriksita of the Kuru line, Para Ātṇāja, king of Kośala, Marutta Āvikṣita king of the Pāñcālas and Bharata Dauhsanti of the great Bharata tribe are all conspicuously mentioned in the late Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa literature, and they no doubt belong to the same period. The references to Āsandivant as capital of Janamejaya, and of Parivaktā as capital of Kṛaivva Pāñcāla and to Nādapitṛ as the birthplace of Bharata have every appearance of historical reality]. To the human authorship of the gāthās as distinguished from the supposed revealed character of the Vedic hymns pointed testimony is borne by a text of the *Attareya Brāhmaṇa* ["Om is the response to a *Re* 'Be it so,' to a gāthā, 'Om is divine. 'Be it so' human," *Ibid*, VIII, 18, tr. A.B. Keith, *Rgveda Brāhmaṇas*, p 309]. Granting all these points the question still remains 'What is the historical value of the gāthās and nārāyaṇī of Vedic literature? We have first to admit that these works no doubt because of their courtly exaggerations drew upon themselves the reprobation of some of the Vedic schools. Thus the *Kāthaka Samhitā*, the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, all belonging to the Black Yajur-Veda, have a series of more or less parallel texts branding the gāthās and nārāyaṇī as lies and as the filth of Brahman (the Vedas) and placing acceptance of gifts from their reciters on the same moral level as that from a drunkard [Cf. *Kāthaka Samhitā*, XIV, 5 anṛtam hi gāthā=nr̥tam nārāyaṇī mattasya na pratigṛhyam=anṛtam hi mattaḥ, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 32 6-7. Yad brahmanah śmalam=āśīt va gāthānārāyaṇī=abhavat yad=annasya śā sūtā tasmād=gāyātāśca mattasya ca na pratigṛhyam Cf. *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* I, 11 5.]. These works however have been authoritatively recognised to be precursors of epic poetry [Cf. Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, p. 4, followed by

Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 314]. With at least equal justice we may claim that they were the forerunners of the Indian historical *kāvya*, common to both being the fact that they eulogise the achievements of historical kings, naturally enough with some exaggeration.

Distinctly superior in importance to the gāthās and nārāśamsīs in the eyes of the Vedic Arvans, though not from the standpoint of Indian historiography, were the classes of compositions known to the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas under the name of Itihāsa and Purāṇa. We may freely translate them as 'legends of gods and heroes' and 'legends of origin' respectively. In the passage of the late fifteenth book of the *Atharva-veda* quoted above, they are mentioned after the sacred Rk, Sāman, Yajus and Brahman, and before the gāthās and nārāśamsīs, in a series of enumerated texts. The same order is preserved in the above-quoted texts from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5, *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* II, 10 and *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* III, 3, enjoining daily study of the Veda upon the householder. In a number of parallel passages in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* virtually enumerating the known branches of learning at that time, Itihāsa and Purāṇa are similarly mentioned after Rg-Veda and Yajur-veda, Sāma-veda and Atharvāṅgīrasa, but before a number of subsidiary studies. (See *Ibid.*, II, 4, 10, IV, 1, 2, IV, 5, 11 = *SBE*, Vol. XV, pp. 111, 153, 184). In a similar series of parallel passages in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII, 1, 2, 2, 1, 7, 1) Itihāsa-Purāṇa is mentioned as the fifth after the Rg-veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sāma-Veda and the Ātharvāna, but before a number of secondary branches of learning. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 4, 1-4 not only is the same order preserved (Rk, Yajus, Sāman, Atharvāṅgīras, Itihāsa-Purāṇa), but a close connection is sought to be established between the last two.

The elaborate account of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and other works shows that not only were Itihāsa and Purāṇa dignified with the title of 'Veda', but that their recitation formed an important element of the complex sacrificial ritual. On the day of loosening of the sacrificial horse, the *hotṛ* priest recites to the crowned king surrounded by his sons and ministers what are called the 'revolving' (or 'recurring') legends (*pārīplava ākhyāna*). These are so called because the priest recites on ten successive days as many different Vedas, and this goes on for a year in cycles of ten days each. In the order of the narration Itihāsa and Purāṇa are reserved for the eighth and ninth days, while Rk, Yajus, Atharvan, Āṅgīrasa, śarpa-vidyā, devajana-vidyā, māyā are mentioned for the first seven days, and Sāman for the tenth. (See *Śat Br.* XIII, 4, 3, 2 ff.,

Āśval Śr S. X, 7, 1 ff, *Sāṅkh Śr S.* XVI, 2, 1 ff For the slight differences, see Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rg-veda*, p. 217).

The recital of the *pārīplava* legends is evidently intended to show the models to whom the sacrificer is assimilated (Cf Dumont, *op cit*, p. 39, where the *pārīplava ākhyānas* are called "les anciens récits épiques, qui montrent les modèles du roi dans la légende, modèles auxquels on assimile le sacrifiant") Equally didactic is the use of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in certain domestic sacrifices described in the *Grhyasūtras*. According to *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* when a misfortune like the death of a preceptor takes place, the members of the family should cast out the old domestic fire and kindle a new one. Keeping that fire burning, they sit till the silence of the night narrating the stories of famous men and discoursing on the auspicious Itihāsapurāṇas (*Ibid*, IV, 6-6, cf Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I, p. 290). Again, according to *Gobhila Grhyasūtra* on the occasion of the ceremonies on the new and full moon days, the husband and the wife should spend the night so as to alternate their sleep with waking, entertaining themselves with Itihāsa or with other discourse (*Ibid*, I, 6-6).

While the ritual and didactic import of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in these ancient times is sufficiently demonstrated by the texts, the same cannot be said of their character as historical compositions. In the explanatory (*artha vāda*) portions of the Brāhmanas as distinguished from those enjoining the precepts (*vidhi*), there have been preserved specimens of the old Itihāsa and Purāṇa [Cf Sieg in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VII s.v. Itihāsa, Winternitz, *op cit*, vol. I, pp. 208 ff]. Here we have as examples of Itihāsas, the legend of Purūṇavas and Utiṣī already known in the *Rg-Veda*, the legend of the Flood, the legend of Śunahśepa and so forth. As examples of Purāṇas we have the legend of origin of the four castes out of the body of Prajapati and the various creation-legends. A reference in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI 1-6-9 shows that wars between gods and Asuras also formed the materials of the ancient Itihāsa. On the other hand we have as yet no trace of genealogies of kings and dynasties with chronological references such as were to constitute an essential ingredient of the later Purāṇas according to the standard definition.

Historical References in Jain Poems*

In this paper I propose to indicate the incidental references to historical personages in the collection of Jain Poems named "*Ātibhāṣik Jain Kāvya-saṅgraha*" compiled by Messrs Agaichand Nahta and Bhanvatlal Nahta (published in Calcutta V S 1994). These are composed in Apabhramśa, Rājasthānī and Hindi.

The editors say that most of these poems pertain to the Kharataragaccha sect which flourished at Bikānir and that they have not been able to collect the poems pertaining to the Tapāgaccha sect except *Viṣṇuśimha-vīri-viṣṇuśimhaśaśana* and another poem.

The poems are panegyrics and primarily intended to glorify the Jain Order. Historical events and personages are incidentally mentioned. Jain saints are said to have been honoured by royal personages. Some are credited to have impressed them not only by their piety and erudition but also by performance of magic and miracle. Historical truth may be embedded in such poems though they generally lack in authenticity. Strict scientific test should be applied to incidents mentioned and corroborative evidence supplied from contemporary records before they can be accepted as reliable statements.

In the songs eulogising Jinaprabhāsūri we are told that he won the admiration of emperor Mohammad at Delhi:

राउ महंमद माहि जिणि, निअ गुणि रंजियडं ।

मेठ मंडलि दिखिय पुरि, जिणि धरमु प्रकटु किडं ॥

तसु गढु पुरधरणु भयलि, जिणदेवसुरि राउ ।—धीजिणप्रभसुरिगांतम् ।

On Saturday the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Paus in V S 1385 (= A D 1328) he visited the court of Muhammad Shah, Asapari, at Delhi. The Sultan treated him with respect, seated him by his side, offered him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined as such gifts were according to rules of conduct unacceptable, but to honour him he took some clothes. The Sultan praised him and issued a *Firman* with royal seal for the construction of a new *basati* (*Upāśraya*, rest house for monks). A procession started in his honour to the *posadhavālā* to the accompaniment of varied music and dance of young women, the

* Read at the 5th Session of the Indian History Congress at Hyderabad

saint was seated on the state elephant (*Pātathī*) surrounded by Malik (Verses 2-9 in *Śrī Jinaprabhasūrinam gītam*)

तेर पंचासियइ पोससुदि आठमि, सण्हिहारो ।

भेटिउ असपते “महमंदो,” सुगुरि ढोलिय नयरे ॥२॥

श्रीमुखि सलहिउ पातमाहि विविहपरि मुखिसीहो ॥३॥

देइ फुरमाणु अनुकागवाई, नव वसति राय सुजाणु ॥६॥

Jinaprabhasūri's *pattadhara*, Jinadeva Sūri, was also honoured by Muhammad Shah who being pleased with his nectar-like discourse caused to be installed at Delhi the image of Vīra (belonging to or coming from Kannānapur) at an auspicious moment on an auspicious day

वंदहु भविय हो सुगुरु जिणदेवसुरि दिग्निय वरनयरि देमणउ

जेहि कन्नाणपुर मंडणु सामिउ बीर जिणु ।

महमद राइ ममण्डिउ थापिउ सुमलर्गान सुभदिबामि ॥२॥

—श्रीजिणदेवसूरि गीतम् ।

In another song Jinaprabha Sūri is said to have won the admiration of Asapati “Kutubadīnu” who invited the saint to come to his court at Delhi on the 4th and the 8th lunar days

आठाहि आठमिहि चउथी, तेडावइ सुरिताणु ए ।

पुइ मितसुख जिणप्रभसूरि बलियउ, जमि ससिइंदु दिमाणिण ॥

“असपति कुतुबदीनु” मनि रंजिउ, दीठेलि जिणप्रभसूरीए ।

Jinacandra Sūri, the *Pattadhara* of Jinaprabodha Sūri also pleased Sultan Kutubuddin

कुतुबदीन सुरतान राउ, रंजिउ स मणोहर ।

जमि पयउउ जिणचंदसूरि, सूरिहि सिरसेहर ॥६॥

—श्रीजिनकुशलसुरि पट्टाभिषेक रास ।

Now let us see who these Sultans are Jinaprabha Sūri visited Muhammad Shah in A.D. 1328. Muhammad bin Tughluq ascended the throne in A.D. 1325 and died in 1351. Muhammad Shah therefore must be Muhammad Tughluq.

The emperor was a versatile genius and is said to have known many sciences. Ziauddin Barni and Ibn Batuta have given him a blood-thirsty character, but they are agreed about his profound scholarship, his mastery over logic, dialectics and Aristotelian philosophy. There was no doubt that he was a free-thinker and a rationalist, a man of culture and a friend of scholars. Ziauddin laments, “The dogmas of philosophers, which are productive of indifference and hardness of heart had a powerful influence over him. The punishment of Musalmans and the execution

of true believers with him became a practice and a passion."¹ On the other hand Brown says "His staunch orthodoxy is reflected on nearly all his coins, not only in the reappearance of the Kallima, but in the assumption by the monarch of such titles as the warrior in the cause of God."²

It seems that he was simply following an old practice and was not very orthodox, for he was an admirer of Shaikh Nizamuiddin Awliya, who indulged in *sama*, or ecstatic dance accompanied by music, which militated against strict orthodoxy. He put an inscription in Nāgri on his token coins and is said to have favoured the use of Sanskrit on ceremonial days. He loved to hear arguments of doctors of religion and had anticipated Akbar who listened to such disputations in the Ibadatkhana at Fatehpur Sikri. It is no wonder therefore that he should have honoured the great Jain scholar and saint, Jhaprabha Sūri and his pattadhara, Jinadeva Sūri. He is said to have honoured Sindhakūti, a great Jain logician from South India, who won renown at his court at Delhi by defeating professors of Buddhism and other dialecticians. This incident seems to have happened between A.D. 1326 and A.D. 1337.

In *Daśabhaktyādi-Mahāśāstra*, a Sanskrit kāvya of Muninda Vardhamāna the following verses occur.

विद्यानन्दस्वामिनः सनुवर्धः मंजतः स सिंहकीर्तिर्वीरानन्दः ।
 ह्यातः श्रीमान् पूर्णचरित्रगालो दानखर्भुषेणुमन्दारदेशः ॥
 बामालक्षपतेर्दिनेशनयो गङ्गाब्जदेशावृतः ।
 श्रीमद्विल्लिपुरेणहम्मदसुरिलाखस्य माराकृतेः ।
 निर्जित्याशु सभावर्नो जितगुरुवैद्यादि + + + व्रजम् ।
 श्रीमहारकमिहकीर्तिमुनिराङ्गाव्यैकविद्यायुगः ॥

In the Padmavati-vastu stone inscription of Humcca in the Nagaria taluka (Mysore) occurs a corresponding passage, viz., बामालि अश्वपतेर्दिनेशनयो वज्राख्य देशावृत श्रीमद् विल्लिपुरे...मुद सुरिलाखस्य माराकृतेः निर्जित्याशु सभावर्नो जितगुरुवैद्यादिवादि-वृजं श्रीमहारक-सिंहकीर्त मुनिरा...वैक-विदामयुगः ।

Evidently "*Muda*" forms a part of the full word Muhammad (or Mahammad, almost always confounded with Mahmud) which became effaced or unreadable, but Rice takes it to mean *mud* (*muda* < *mudu* < *mrdu*) and adds "Mahmud." Dr. Saleore reads "*tata na bhūṣanādhyā*

1 Sir H. Elliott, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 236

2 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, pp. 73-74

3 Ms. No. 253/klia of the Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana noticed in *Jaina Siddhanta Bhāṣkāra*, 5. 3

deva-vrta" and expresses surprise that Rice should have read it as "haṅgālya-deśāvṛta."⁴

The verses quoted from *Daśabbaktyādi-mabāśāstra* set all these doubts at rest by expressly mentioning the name Mahamimada (and not Muda) Suritrāna and Gaṅgādhyadeśa which is evidently Bengal and give greater support to Rice.

The date of Vardhamāna, author of the *Daśa'* has been conjectured by Dr. Salletore to be A D 1378 (by assigning 30 years each to the following teachers in the *guruparamparā* counting back from Viśālakīrti whose earliest date he supposes to have been A D 1468, thus Meṇṇandi-Vardhamāna-Prabhācandra-Amarakīrti-Viśālakīrti) which seems to get support from the mention of his name in a Sravana Belgolā record of A D 1372.⁵ But in the *Daśa'* occurs a śloka that Vardhamāna composed it in *Sake Vedakharābdi candrakalite samvatsare Śiṅplave simha śāvanike prabhākaraśve-kṣnāstamī vāsare rohinyām* i.e. in Śaka era 1463 (or 1464, if the Vedas be four and not three) = A D 1541. The exact date can however, be ascertained from other particulars given about the *utthi*. Whatever be his date, the author has in the *Daśa'* incorporated many extracts from the lithic inscription of Nagara taluka and he being much nearer to the date of the inscription than we are, it may be presumed that he found them in a better state of preservation than in the last decade of the 19th century and in the 20th century. I think, therefore, his reading of the inscription may be accepted.

Jinaprabhāsūri was an exceedingly erudite poet and scholar, and a distinguished Jain ācārya. Muni Jina Vijayaji says in the introduction of his edition of the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabhāsūri that the ācārya was greatly honoured at the court of Sultan Muhammad Shah even as much as Jagadguru Hīrivijayasūri was at Akbar's court, and that perhaps he was the first saint to have glorified the Jain dharma at the courts of Musalman Badshahs.⁶

From internal evidence his date can be ascertained. The earliest date of the composition of poems in this work is contained in the last stanza of

4 *Epigraphia Carnatica* 8 15 *Jaina Siddhānta Bhaskara* 4 4 containing a translation of Dr B A Salletore's article in *Karnatak Historical Review*, IV, pp 77-86. See Salletore, *Medieval Jainism*, pp 370-71.

5 Salletore, *Medieval Jainism*, p 300.

6 In Singhi *Jaina Granthamala Series*, Visvabharati Santiniketan.

Vaibhāgarīkalpa where occurs the first line thus *Varse siddhā sarasvādrasasthikūmite Vikrame* which gives us V.S. 1364 (= A.D. 1307), completion of the work is indicated in the line *nandā-nekapāsakti sītagumite Śrīvīkramorūpate* which gives us V.S. 1389 (= A.D. 1332). From other passages in the work it appears that they were composed earlier than V.S. 1364 and later than V.S. 1389.

Extensive information of the activities of Jinaprabhāsūrī relating to our present subject matter is found in the work. The incident of the installation of the image of Mahāvīra brought from the city of Kannānaya is related in *Kanyāyanāyīya-Mahāvīra-pratimā-kalpa* (in Prakrit) thus

The image was fashioned at the city of Kannānaya in the Cola country in V.S. 1233 (= A.D. 1176). When in V.S. 1248 (= A.D. 1191) Prthivīāja (*Pahavīrājānamde*) the leader of the Cāhamāna clan was killed by Sahabadina,⁷ Śreṣṭhī Rāmadeva sent a letter to the śrāvaka, "The kingdom of the Turks has begun. Keep the image of Mahāvīra hidden away." It was kept concealed in the sand at Kayamvasatthala, where it remained till V.S. 1311. In that year a great famine having occurred, a carpenter named Yojaka left Kannanaya for a more favourable country and came to Kayamvasatthala where having been warned in a dream he discovered the image, which was then placed in a Caitya house and worshipped. Many disturbances occasioned by the Turks followed. The image perspired one day at the time of bathing and though wiped still perspired. This was an evil omen. On the following morning the Jat Rajputs made an incursion. In the year V.S. 1385 the Śikdar of Āsinagar came and imprisoned the *sādhus* and *śrāvakas* and broke the stone image of Pārśvanātha. But the image of Mahāvīra was transported safe and whole in a cart to Delhi and kept in the store house of the Sultan at Tughlakabad pending his orders. In course of time Sūi Mahammad Sutattana came from Devagiri to Joginipura. Once Jinaprabhāsūrī, the ornament of the Khatataragaccha sect, arrived in the course of his journey to Delhi. Having heard from Dhārā-dhara, the astronomer, the praise of the great erudition of the saint, he sent him to the saint and brought him on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Paus. The Sūri visited the Mahārajādhirāja who seated him close by his side, asked him about his welfare and conversed with him till midnight. He passed the night there

and was again summoned in the morning. The Sultan was delighted with the poetic skill of the Sūri and offered him a thousand cows, wealth, the chief garden, a hundred blankets, and clothes, and scents such as aguru, sandal, camphor etc. Then the *guru* respectfully declined to take them saying that these were not acceptable to *sādhus* (*Sādhūnameyam na kappasambohiūna mahārāyam paṭisiddham savvaṃ vatthu*). But on being pressed by the king and to honour him he accepted some blankets and clothes. Then the king caused him to dispute with scholars who came from many countries (*nānādesamīarāgaya paṇḍīyebim saha vāyagotthim kāravuttā*), and was so pleased that he mounted him and the *ācārya* Jinadeva on two stately elephants and sent them to the accompaniment of varied music to the *posadhasālā*. Then the badshah (*pātasāhinā*) gave him a *firman* protecting all the Svetāmbara order from harm. On another occasion the Sārvabhauma immediately granted him a *firman* affording protection to the *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimage) of Satrunjaya, Guṇai, Phalabaddhi etc. On another occasion on a certain Monday when it was raining the Sūri came to the royal palace with his feet all muddy. The Mahārāja took a costly piece of cloth from Malikka Kafur and wiped them. The Sūri pleased him and regaled him with verses, at the excellence of which the king marvelled. Taking this opportunity he asked the favour of the Sultan's making over to him the image of Mahāvīra, which was then brought from the store at Tughlakabad, and presented to the Sūri in open court in the presence of the Malliks (Maliks). This was then installed by the entire Sangha in the *sarai* of Malik Tājādīna. Then establishing Jinadeva Sūri in his place at Delhi the Sūri went to the Maratha country, and by and by to Devagiri. Afterwards at Delhi Jinadeva Sūri saw the Sultan who showed great respect and made a gift of *sarai* which he named Surattānasarai. There the Sūri (*Kalikāla-cakkavatī*) built a *posadhasālā* and a *cāitya*, wherein was established Śrī Mahāvīra.

In (no. 51) *Kanyāñayamahāvūna-kalpaparīṣeṣa* further information regarding the Sūri is obtained. The Sūri got a *firman* from Muhammad Tughlak which secured the Cāityas of Pethada, Sahaja, and Acala from molestation by the Turks. He is said to have crushed the pride of his opponents in disputation. Once during the course of a dissertation of the *śāstras* in the assembly of pandits, the emperor entertained some doubts and remembering the merits of the Sūri, said, "Had he been present here he would have easily resolved my doubts. Doubtless Brhaspati being vanquished by his

intellectual superiority has quitted the earth and gone to the skies " At that time Tajalamallik arrived from Daulatabad and having touched his head to the earth (Kurnish) said "The Mahātmā is there, but as the water there has not agreed with him, he has become emaciated." The emperor ordered the Mir, "O Mallik, proceed immediately to the Dubira khāna (Secretariat), cause a *firman* to be written, and be sent to Daulatabad " It duly reached the Diwan of Daulatabad. Kutub Khan, the *nāyāk* of the city, respectfully communicated the message of the *firman* to the Sūri, viz that the emperor desired his presence at Delhi. The Sūri started and gradually came to Siri-allabapur-dugga (fort of Allabapur), then to Siroha, and ultimately met the emperor at Delhi. The latter enquired about his welfare in mild words, then kissed his hand with great affection (*cumbho sasmechaṃ guṇnam karo*) and held him to his heart with great respect. The Sūri blessed him and proceeded to the *Suratānasarai posadhasāla*. The emperor ordered the chief Hindu Rajas, also the great Malik, beginning with Śrī Dīnāra, to accompany him.

At another time in the month of Phalguna the emperor went out to receive his mother, Magadhūma-t-Jahān, who was coming from Daulatabad and met her at Vadathūn. The Sūri was with him. The emperor afterwards gave him near his palace a splendid house (*abbinavasārāi*) to dwell in, and himself named it *bhattarāya-sarai*. Then in V.S. 1389 (*terasayanavāsīavarise* A.D. 1332), on the 7th day of black fortnight in the month of Āśāḍha, the Sūri entered the *posadhasāla* with great eclat, music etc. On another occasion in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa the emperor started on his march of conquest of the eastern quarters (*puuvadisajaya jattāpatihryena*) and was accompanied by the Sūri. The latter recovered the Mathura *tīrtha*. Thinking that the camp life must have been greatly troubling the Sūri the emperor sent him back to Delhi from Agia in company with Khoje Jahān Malika. Taking the *firman* (pass-port) from the emperor for going to Hatthināpura the Sūri returned to his own place. The Digambaras and Śvetāambaras under the authority of the Imperial *firman* went about everywhere without let or hindrance.

The punctilious detail with which the events have been described inclines one to believe that they were not altogether imaginary. The manner of bowing to the Sultan, and the latter's kissing the hand indicate clearly the familiar court manners.

Now let us examine the authenticity of the personages mentioned in

the *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa*. It has been said that the Sultan went out in full military array to greet his mother, Magadhūma-i-Jahān, when she was coming back from Daulatabad and met her at Vadathūna (Badaon?)

According to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi* the first migration (transference of capital) to Devagiri occurred in 727 A H (= A D 1326-27), when the Sultan carried with him his mother Makhdūm-i-Jahan, the amirs, maliks, and other notable persons with horses, elephants, and treasure of the state.⁸ It appears that in V S 1385 (= A D 1328) the emperor returned to Delhi (which seems to be corroborated by contemporary history) from Devagiri while his mother stayed behind. Allowing time for the Sūri's journey to Deogiri, his stay there and his return to Delhi, the incident of his mother's return is likely to have happened in A D 1331 after which in V S 1389 (A D 1332) the Sūri entered the *posadhasālā* which was given to him by the Sultan. When the Sultan was proceeding to Multan to chastise the rebel Shihū Afghani, he had not advanced far when the news came that his revered mother Makhdūm-i-Jahān had died at Delhi. She was a lady of great talents. The Sultan was overpowered with grief. He tendered sincere respect to his mother, the dowager queen who enjoyed her regal state throughout her life.⁹

It is said that the Sultan went out to conquer the east. Rebellions were rife. In 1335 when Jilaluddin Ahsin Shih of Ma'bat revolted the Sultan marched in person to chastise him. In 1337 there were rebellions in Bengal. It is to one of these that the text probably refers. Kutalakhan was Qutlugh Khan, a title conferred on Qiyam-aldin, the Sultan's tutor. He also received from the Sultan another title, *Vakil-i-dar*. He was a man of integrity and was placed in charge of Devagiri. His recall from Devagiri (745 A H) greatly depressed the people there.¹⁰

Khoje Jahan Malik is the title of Khwaja Jahan conferred as a reward for his service on Ahmad Ayaz, the engineer who built the notorious pavilion (at Afghanpur) which caused the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak. He also held the office of Wazirul-Mulk.¹¹

8 Dr Iswari Prasad: *History of the Qaramah Turks in India* vol I, p 84

9 *Ibid* pp 172, 310, Elliott, *op cit* p 244

10 *Ibid*, pp 63, 146, 171, Elliott, *op cit* pp 251, 253 App 571, Kasud of Badli Chach

11 *Ibid*, p 83. He was also Malik Zada Ahmad, son of Ayas, Elliott, *op cit*, p 610

'Ubaid the poet spread false rumour that Sultan Ghiyasuddin was seriously ill and went to Malik Tamar, Malik Tigin, Malik Kafur, the keeper of the seal, and told the nobles that Ulugh Khan looked upon them with suspicion. Ghiyasuddin held a public Durbar in the plain of Siri, when 'Ubaid the poet and Kafur the seal-keeper and other rebels were flayed alive.¹² So he could not be the person from whose hands Muhammad Tughlaq took the towel to wipe the Sūri's feet.

No date is available in the poems with regard to Qutbuddin. We however know the date of Jina Candia Sūri the Parradhara of Jinaprabodhi Sūri. He was born in V S 1324 (A D 1267) and died in V S 1376 (A D 1319), Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah, the Khilji emperor, ascended the throne in A D 1310 and was assassinated in A D 1320. "Qutbuddin" of the poems therefore seems to refer to him. "Under Mubarak Shah Khilji" says Elphinstone, "the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindu." The meeting might have taken place in A D 1318, before the degenerate Khustai cast his evil influence on him and brought about first his spiritual and then his physical death.

We know from other sources that Sultan Mubarak Shah appointed Samara Singh, a great Jain of Patan, to an important post (*vayavahārī*) at Delhi. Ghiyasuddin Tughlak regarded Samar Singh as his son and sent him to Telingana, where he built many Jain temples. Muhammad Tughlak looked upon him as his brother and made him governor of Telingana. Jinaprabha Sūri and Mahendra Sūri were favourites of the Sultan.

Of Mahendra Sūri Nayacandra says¹³

एकः सोऽयं महात्मा न पर इति वृषश्रीमहम्मदसाहे ।

स्तोत्रं प्राप्तं स पापं क्षययतु भगवान श्रीमहेन्द्र. प्रभुर्नः ॥

KALIPADA MISHRA

12 Elliott *op cit.*, pp 203-608. App D from Travels of Ibn Batuta who says that the Prince had gone to Telingana with principal Annas, viz, Malik Timur, Tigin, Kafur the seal bearer. He formed designs to revolt and made the poet 'Ubaid spread false rumour about Ghiyasuddin Tughlak who put 'Ubaid and Kafur to death.

13 *Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference*, p. 630

Early Indian Jewellery*

It is almost impossible to say anything about what the numerous female figurines in terracotta stood for. A number of scholars have been unanimous in pointing out that there are several characteristics in these figures from which the figures may be identified as a female divinity who was widely worshipped in the west-Asiatic countries.

It is a well known fact that enormous treasures in the shape of precious ornaments accumulate in Indian temples as offerings to the presiding deities from their devotees and there is a practice to bedeck the images with such ornaments. A study of the Indian images from very early times down to recent age shows that these were often bedecked with actual representations of ornaments. From this we may infer that the ornaments shown on the terracotta figures found in the Indus valley might in all probability be the attempted representations of actual ornaments which were in vogue at that time.

A general survey of the ornaments displayed on these figures is now complete. It appears that the male folk of that age used to wear a broad fillet round their heads as also armlets of similar type. It is difficult to say if they wore any other type of ornament to decorate other parts of the body. But from the nude terracotta figurine and the seated vogue figure it is evident that the practice of adorning the male body with numerous necklaces, bracelets and earrings was not unknown. The women usually wore earrings, necklaces, bracelets and armlets, elaborate girdles and anklets of various types. But the fashion as would be evident from the bronze figures, might have been different among women of different social standing.

Head-ornaments

Adornment of the head, as it appears both from these figures as well as actual finds, was a thing of much care among the chalcolithic people. We came across several types of head ornaments in course of our survey of the human figures of which the broad diadems and the 'V' shaped fillets deserved

* Continued from vol XVIII, p 59

particular notice. A few ornaments of both these types were actually found in course of excavation.

The ordinary diadems appear like broad ribbons made of plain, beaten, thin sheets of gold. Of these diadems, found in hoard no. 2, one measuring 16.5" long and 0.55" wide has got a very interesting design embossed on its body towards the ends. Probably the design was embossed with some pointed instrument.⁴⁶ This design has a close affinity to the peculiar stand which occurs so frequently on the seals. Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the peculiar thing represented a cult object.⁴⁷ The rest of the diadems are more or less of the same length and breadth, they taper towards their ends where there are small holes, evidently for passing thread to fasten the ornament behind the head. A diadem measuring 6.2" by 0.75" has a row of small holes along one of its longer edges. These holes, it appears, were meant to accommodate a number of small pendants. An example of a broad forehead fillet, from the lower edge of which hangs a number of small pendants may be traced on the fragment of a terracotta female figure found at Dullin.⁴⁸ The type, curiously enough, survived for long.

Mention has already been made of the peculiar angular fillets found in hoard no. 2.⁴⁹ In all, there are only three of this type, each of which measures about half an inch in width. Long arms of the fillets are seen to bend at the middle assuming the shape of a 'V'. The arms have tapering rounded ends having small holes like the others for fastening. Tiny little holes are also to be noticed at the angular ends. Dr Mackay thinks that these holes were meant for suspending heavy nose ornaments.⁵⁰ The question of nose ornament has already been discussed above. Moreover the angular forehead ornament noticed on one of the terracotta figures above does not display any such attached nose ornament. The fillet seen on this figure, however, has got its surface decorated with deep criss cross lines, while actual objects do not show any such ornamentation.⁵¹

A number of these diadems was found in coiled up condition. It appears that when not in use the fillets were kept rolled up. Several

⁴⁶ *MIC* p. 527 pl. cxviii fig. 14 Cf. *Palace of Minos at Knossos*, vol. I, pp. 67, 96.

⁴⁷ *MIC*, p. 527.

⁴⁸ *ASIAR*, 1929-30 pl. cxliii, fig. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 1925-26 p. xli.

⁵⁰ *MIC* p. 527f.

⁵¹ *ASIAR* 1925-26, pl. cxixvi a.

such fillets, in rolled up condition, are known to have been found from the grave of queen Sub-ad in Ur.⁵² Traces of silver detected round the skulls of several skeletons found in the same grave led Sir Leonard Woolley to conclude that the habit of wearing diadems of silver was quite common among the women of Ur. Finds of actual diadems of silver were reported from various sites of Mesopotamia like Sumer and Kish.⁵³

It may be pointed out here that fillets, so far found in the Indus valley are all objects of gold while the diadems used in Sumeria happened to be made of silver.

The practice of wearing forehead fillets survived in India for long and may be traced as late as those upon figures represented on the monuments of Bāhūt and Sāñcī.⁵⁴

Hair of most of the female figures is covered under the peculiar headdresses. It however, appears probable, that the females usually grew long hair and arranging of hair in different ways could not be possible without the help of hair pins. The representation of a hair pin was already noticed to occur on a male figure, whose hair is shown arranged in a knot. A number of pin-shaped objects also discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, has been identified as hairpins. These objects are usually made of long stems surmounted by knobs of different shape.

Some of these objects deserve special notice due to the artistic executions of the knobs. One of these made of bronze, measuring 4.4" in height has its stem crowned by two tiny antelopes standing back to back. These antelopes have spirally twisted horns and ingeniously formed shoulders.⁵⁵ Another interesting pin of ivory, the stem of which is lost has its top shaped in the form of an ibex. The animal, having a somewhat relaxed body, is placed on a rectangular piece, from underneath of which probably issued three different shafts in its original state.⁵⁶

It is interesting to note that these are the only specimens of personal ornaments found from Indus valley which have parts of them shaped in the forms of animal. Indus valley jeweller had a predilection for high polish in case of metal surface and geometric or symbolic designs in case of other

52 Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees* p. 46

53 Woolley *The Sumerians* fig. 17, Mackay *Report of Excavation in Kish* pl. iv, 24

54 Maury-Sauné and its Remains, pl. xviii

55 *ASIR* 1929-30, p. 106, pl. xxxiii fig. 1. 56 *MIC* p. 531, pl. clviii

elements. On the other hand animal and even human shapes came to be a common feature in the ornaments of Egypt, Greece and various other ancient countries. In India, however, animals never gained any great popularity in jeweller's art. In Egypt, where there is quite a number of hairpins surviving from the ancient age, the pins are almost invariably found crowned with animal shapes. The Scythians who excelled in shaping animal forms had also a great fascination for incorporating animal motifs in jewellery. Foreign influence is probably responsible for the reluctantly used animal shapes in Indian jewellery-forms.

Besides the pins mentioned above there are many circular disc shaped objects having holes drilled halfway through the centres of the discs on one side. These have been identified as hairpin heads. The holes were apparently drilled for the purpose of accommodating some sort of stem which used to be made of perishable material and have hence decayed.⁵⁷ These circular things are mostly made of steatite or faience, each of these measures about 0.88" in diameter. The upper surface of almost each of the discs has got a four point star device at the middle surrounded on all sides by a thick rope or herring-bone pattern which runs along the edge of the disc resulting in an extremely artistic combination.

The four point star happened to be a very favourite decorative device of the Indus valley people. Excepting these discs the device occurs on a number of decorated vessels and many other broken pottery sherds. The design was also known to the artist of Egypt but in Egypt it was never so much extensively used as in India.⁵⁸ Sir Flinders Petrie claimed Egypt to be the mother of almost all the decorative devices which gained currency in the artistic world.⁵⁹ It is, however, difficult to say whence this four point star motif derived its origin.

Ear-ornaments

In course of surveying the human figurines above there had been occasion to refer to ear ornaments. It is usually difficult to trace any ear ornament on these figures excepting a few. The ear ornaments could not be

57 MIC p. 531f pl. clviii 2, 4 6 minute capsules of some variety of lotus or water lily.

58 Petrie & Chipiez *op cit* fig. 305 Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art* p. 32, 48, Petrie, *Arts and crafts in Egypt*, fig. 101.

59 Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art* p. 5.

shown on the terracotta figurines because of the high headdresses, pannier like objects or peculiar arrangement of the hair. In practice probably, the ears remained concealed under these decorations. Actual diggings have, however, revealed objects which cannot but be identified as ear ornaments.

Of these, two tiny circular pieces of gold, (each measuring 1.2" in diameter) discovered at Mohenjo-daro are worthy of special notice. Each of these circular bits hollows towards one side like a funnel at the point of which there is a small hole. Towards the inner side of the funnel a hollow tube is soldered at the face of the hole. Each of these tube measures 0.5" long and 0.27" in diameter and slightly tapers towards the end. This arrangement was probably meant for passing an additional broader tube having closed top so that the studs could be kept in position. Besides high polish, the lustre of which still remains on the surface of the gold, each stud was decorated with a tiny bead moulding along the outer circumference causing a novel pattern. The objects require no further explanation to be identified as ear studs. With their high polish, neat decoration of bead mouldings and the clever arrangement for wearing, the studs survive as two very commendable specimens of early Indian jewellery.⁶⁰

Attention should be drawn to the close similarity of these studs and the floral studs known as '*karnaphul*', extensively worn by women of various parts of India at the present time. The survival of the form can be traced all through the periods of history and affords an example of how very ancient ornament forms survived for long without any great change.

A curious drop, made of tiny copper and faience beads discovered at Mohenjo-daro, has to be mentioned in this connection because the object appears to have been an ear drop. It has a d lapidated wire which issues out of the cluster of the beads and had probably the shape of a hook in its original state. This device was evidently meant for suspending the drop from dilated earlobe.⁶¹

Among the silver objects found at Mohenjo-daro there is a pair of slightly oval shaped rings which I am tempted to identify as earrings. Plain thin sheets of silver were first made into tubes, the edges of which remained separated from each other by about 0.15". These tubes were then bent to assume the shapes of oval rings. At the two ends of each ring, which however, did not quite meet, were drilled small holes, evidently

⁶⁰ *MIC*, p 194, pl cli, 7, 8

⁶¹ *MIC*, pl cxliii, fig 2

for passing threads. The practice of wearing earrings with the help of threads still survive among various people of India. Judging from the narrow circumference and the oval shape, not to speak of the peculiar device of threading, the rings look more like earrings than ordinary bracelets. The earrings of queen Sub-ad of Ur present an almost similar type.⁶²

There is a number of small circular studs, both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the stems from many of which are, however, lost. One of these studs has a short broad topped stem, attached to its back. This device was meant for wearing the ornament through some pierced portion of the body. Dr. Mackay has identified it as a nose stud.⁶³ Many of the other studs have got their circular tops decorated with four point star decorations.

Besides these ornaments, there are numerous small rings made of thin wires of copper, among the metal objects found from the excavated sites. It appears that some of these rings which could neither be worn as arm ornaments nor as finger rings were in all probability, used as adornments of ear. Similar rings of brass, silver or even copper are still worn by persons of both the sexes in various parts of India as earrings.

Neck-ornaments

The adornment of the neck has always been considered as a thing of great importance to the lovers of jewellery and the wearers of jewellery in the Indus Valley devoted much care and energy to adorn their necks. And as it happened at all times, the neck ornament of the female folk, it appears from the existing figures of clay were elaborate objects of different type, varying from tight fitting collars to long dalliers.

In case of some clay figures the neck ornaments appear to be representations of chains. No actual chain, which could be used as neck ornament has yet been discovered from the excavated sites. Other types of neck ornaments in these clay figures are shown by means of peculiarly set strips and pellets of clay. Mention has already been made of numerous beads and pendants of different material, found from all over the excavated sites. Though no actual neck ornament has yet been discovered in tact from any of these sites yet it may be easily presumed from these beads and pendants that most of the neck ornaments in case of the

62 *ASIAR*, 1924 25, pl. xx, c. For the earrings of Sub-ad see Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, pl. iv, fig. 1.

63 *MIC*, pl. clu, fig. 7 p. 528.

clay figures indicated by the pellets of clay represented actual objects made of similar beads and pendants

The abundance of beads and pendants reveals that these objects were extensively used and were very popular as elements for the manufacture of jewellery. These beads etc. were made mostly of stone, but metal like gold, silver and copper alloys like bronze, objects like shell and paste and even terracotta were also freely used for the manufacture of these things.

In one particular case some beads were found to survive within a jar secured in a thread in the form of a string. The string, however, disintegrated at the attempt to remove it from the jar. It is clear that threads in these strings, unlike the metal wires used in the strings found in places like Egypt were made of such perishable material as cotton. As such threads could easily rot away due to constant use, the beads and pendants frequently escaped from the strings. This is a reason why we get so many of stray beads scattered through the excavated sites. The beads surviving in the jar, appear to have been put inside the pots in original unbroken form but due to decay of the threads in almost all the cases no one was found in an undisintegrated condition, nor there is any clue to restore these to their original state. Though the particular one mentioned above survived in tact, the decay of the thread at the very first touch rendered it equally useless for the determination of its original form.

The shape, size, colour, polish and many other similar details regarding these beads have given rise to various problems regarding their origin, date, the extent of area over which different types could be traced during different periods, and the like. Though the technical study of these problems is more a subject of Anthropology yet some observations on the quality of the beads may not be far fetched in a study like this which is primarily aesthetic, for a greater understanding of the comparative value of the ornaments found from the different west Asiatic countries.

Beads of different material had different technical process of manufacture. Beads of metal were usually made by casting the metal in suitable moulds. But beads made of beaten thin pieces of metal soldered together are also not rare. The beads of stone were probably first picked out from suitable stones and then put into shape by flaking and constant rubbing on some harder surface. Much care was taken to cut, polish and bore these beads. Boring of the hard stones was a difficult job and was probably accomplished by means of a sort of pin shaped copper rod, the

like of which was extensively found from the excavated sites at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Beads were probably bored from either ends because in some cases discrepancies can be traced at the centres where the two holes met. But such discrepancies are rare and in majority of cases borings were done with much care and the irregularities were polished off by rubbing, so that the translucency of the beads was in no way jeopardised. Some of the beads made of steatite have got astonishingly tiny size. Their holes were so tiny that they could have been strung on hair or threads having similar thinness. The size of the beads has made Dr Mackay wonder as to how they could be made.⁶⁴

The greatest skill in respect of bead making was shown by the Indus valley craftsman in making beads of faience. Faience, as has already been said, was a compound of silica and flux, and the hot and molten liquid was made to assume the requisite shape by being cast in moulds. Among the faience beads quite a number shows traces of beautiful colour which used to be added to the compounds, before the compounds were put into the furnace. Faience beads have also been found at Ur and Kish and also in Egypt. In Egypt these occur during the XIIIth dynasty. Some scholars think that such beads were not manufactured in Egypt but were imported there from outside.⁶⁵ It may be possible that the technique of manufacturing faience was originally discovered in India.

Beads found from the ancient sites have always been a thing of great interest to the archaeologists as these objects have been found to supply very important clues leading to correct dating of ancient sites. Detailed technical information regarding the beads may be looked up in the volumes brought out by the Archaeological Survey of India on these proto-historic sites. The aesthetic value of the beads and how best they were used could fully be realised, however, only if the method of matching the colours and size of the different beads in the original strings was known. How creditably the Indus Valley jeweller matched the different colours in the strings and how developed was his sense of colour and adjustment of shapes can, however, be guessed to some extent from some of the strings recomposed by the 'Department'.

Nothing has been known about the use of so called precious stones like

⁶⁴ Dr Mackay is to be credited for his elaborate study on beads.

⁶⁵ T. G. Allen, *Handbook of the Egyptian Collection*, p. 113.

pearl and diamond in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Dr Mackay is of opinion that such stones were not worked in those places due to their extreme hardness.⁶⁶ Pearl became the most popular element for the manufacture of beads in India during the historic period. In the Indus Valley we find an extensive use of shells but pearl is conspicuous by its absence.

About fifteen varieties of beads can be traced among the finds of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Besides these, along with these objects have often been found pawn shaped objects of various shapes, grooved at the top and in most cases there are holes drilled through them from end to end. In case of several such objects gold wires are found passed through the holes and formed into loops at the top of the pawns. Evidently these were used in the strings as pendants.

Besides these pendants of usual type several other objects have also been identified as some sort of pendant. Of these the heart-shaped objects deserve special notice. Of these heart-shaped objects mention has already been made of one of gold found at Harappa. It is made of thin sheet of gold beaten out from behind into three concentric heart-shaped designs in which the sunken surfaces between the raised rims were inlaid with ribbed bands of blue faience. On the reverse side there are hooks attached at the top, evidently meant for suspending the object from a string. The object is, however, unique of its kind and can easily be commended as an object of high aesthetic and technical value.

Two other heart-shaped objects were also found at Harappa, one made of faience and the other of steatite. The one of faience tapers towards the edge and has a hole made at the base, for attachment. The top of the object is sharply pointed. The object was probably originally covered with some glaze which can no longer be traced.⁶⁷ The other one has got no peculiarity to note and was recovered in a fragmentary condition.

The heart motif is one of the earliest decorative elements discovered by man and was extensively used in the Indus valley as a common design for vase decoration and other purposes. Its earliest occurrence as a symbolic design can be traced in paintings of the cave dwellers of Spain.⁶⁸ In some of the seals found in the Indus valley also, where it occurs on the body of animals depicted on them, the design have been used to convey some symbolic meaning. Its association with magic appear to be responsible for

66 *MIC*, p. 529

67 *Vats, op. cit.*, p. 441

68 Von Heubert Kuhn *Die älteste Kunst*, p. 42

its name and probably from the very beginning of its inception, the heart motif came to be regarded as a portent embodying the magic force of life. Till recently heart-shaped pendants of gold were extensively in use in Bengal, and its association with ornaments as necklace pendants reveal the great antiquity of some modern ornament forms and the queer continuity of belief in magic.

Of the other objects which appear to have been used for the same purpose a crescent shaped bead of banded agate deserves some notice. That it was used in some string which might have been used as a neck wear is evident, and it is interesting to mention in this connection that exactly similar beads of banded agate are still found to be worn by children in Bengal as pendants.

Whatever be picked up in piles, these beads and pendants are found to have among them two very interesting type of objects, one is a semi-circular piece usually made of metal, the other a flat rectangular piece made either in gold, silver, copper or stone. The semi-circular objects are in most case hollow and have small holes at their apices. The flat strips have usually two to six holes through them.

The association of these objects with the beads and the pendants goes beyond doubt to prove that they had something to do with the strings which were made with those beads etc. Bead-strings were extremely popular in India throughout the early period in history and representation of these strings occur freely on the sculpture of the contemporary age. A figure at Bodhgaya, dated about first century B.C. has got the representation of a girdle of uniform globular beads.⁶⁹ The beads appear arranged in three rows, spaced after three beads in each row by means of a thin flat rectangular spacer through which the threads of the string pass. Similar strings with spacer arrangements are also found on the decorative elephants on gateways at Bharhut and Sanchi.⁷⁰ In these representations at Bharhut and Sanchi again the strings are found to terminate at one end in a peculiar semi-circular terminal having very close affinity to the semi-circular objects mentioned above. From these representations there remain little doubt regarding the fact that the rectangular and the semi-circular objects found in the Indus valley sites were not different from the spacers and terminals which were used in the composition of strings.

The use of almost similar spacers and terminals fundamentally of the same shape may also be traced in the neck-strings made of gold and silver beads which are still in use in Northern India. The continuity of the technique for such a long time is an interesting phenomenon. This is, however, a very simple way of composing strings of beads, and almost all the bead-strings used in the Indus valley were probably made in this process.

As has already been said, no string has survived in original state and the strings cannot be studied in their true perspective. Yet the Archaeological Department have recomposed a number of beads etc. discovered from the excavated sites into a few strings of different variety. Among these recomposed strings some appear to be quite shapely and true, to some extent, to some of the original strings. But in a number of other cases shown in the 'Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization', where there are terminals though these are only single string compositions, appear to be quite illogical.

Of the strings which appear to have some resemblance to some of the originals a few deserve particular notice for their beauty, technical quality and the long continuity of the types. Five spacers, two terminals and 240 uniform globular beads found close together, which probably constituted one string have been re-made by the 'Department' into a string of exceeding beauty. As there are five holes in each spacer the beads have been arranged in five rows, the rows are spaced by three spacers and the two remaining spacers serve as the base of the terminals. The ornament was identified by Dr Mackay as a bracelet. Usually arm ornaments may be expected in pairs. A number of very tiny beads, spacers and terminals found at Harappa were actually re-made into a pair of wrist bands in the same technique. In the above case the ornament appears to be a bit too long to be used as a bracelet. On the other hand ornaments very much resembling this one may still be found used in northern India by women as 'kanthi' or neck-collar. Neck-collars were in vogue in the Indus valley as is evident from the clay figures mentioned above and I am in favour of identifying the object as a chalcolithic neckwear, the archetype of the 'kanthīs' of the later age, the shape of thing having changed very little in course of its long continuity. Worn at the end of a slender neck the yellow of the polished gold was sure to create a nice effect.⁷¹

Next we shall take note of a rather unusually long string recomposed from 42 long barrel shaped beads of carnelian. The beads have been arranged in rows of six strands and the rows are divided into compartments by copper spacers which are flanked by globular beads of copper, some of which are covered by gold. Dr. Mackay is in favour of identifying the ornament as a necklace but it might, as it appears from its length, be a girdle as well.⁷²

A number of light green barrel shaped beads of jade, 25 discular beads of gold and seven pendants of agate jasper found together in a container at Mohenjo-daro were recomposed by the 'Department' into a string of unsurpassed beauty. The pendants of jasper have thick gold wires thinned out and coiled two or three times at their proximal ends to form loops. The string have been made by passing a thread through the barrel shaped beads, the discular reels of gold and the loops of the pendants. All the pendants are at the centre while the barrel shaped beads placed on either side of the pendants are separated from each other by groups of the discular reels, there being five discs in each group. The beads and the pendants show high finish and exquisite workmanship and though it cannot be definitely said whether the string really resemble its original shape yet in whichever arrangement these might have been, the ultimate merit of the string cannot be overpraised. The colour of the pendants, the smooth refractiveness of the jade beads and the shining quality of the gold reels bespeak a well developed sense of colour and craftsmanship almost reaching a state of sophistication.⁷³

Besides these beads and pendants now available in a threaded form numerous other beads and pendants were found from all over the excavated sites of Indus valley which with or without the help of the accompanying spacers and terminals may be re-made into a good many other strings of similar merit. It may here be pointed out that the technique of composing bead-strings with the help of almost similar terminals and spacers was not only known in India alone but may also be traced in a very distant country like Egypt. In an XVIII Dynasty grave at Giza in Egypt were discovered a few necklaces, bracelets and anklets sticking to the bones of a number of skeletons. These strings were all made of beads of different types in a process noticed above, with the help of semicircular ter-

minals and zig-zag shaped spacers of gold. Occurrence of strings made in this process is very rare in Egypt and is not known during other Dynasties excepting the XVIIIth and these strings were probably used only to adorn the dead bodies. On the other hand strings made in this technique enjoyed wide popularity in India and its continuity can be traced from the chalcolithic age down to the modern times. From these facts it may not be unreasonable to think that the technique was an original discovery of India and it was brought into Egypt by way of trade.⁷⁴

The strings noticed above are mostly of considerable length and were probably used as neck and waist ornaments. But there are at least two short strings which cannot but be identified as wrist bands. These two ornaments were made of little beads with tiny spacers and terminals of equally suitable dimensions, all made of gold. These were recovered along with other ornaments at Harappa. From these ornaments it is evident that strings made in the above mentioned technique could also be used as arm ornaments. Such ornaments occur in Egypt as anklets too but whether these could be used here also to the same end cannot be said.

Arm-ornaments

Among the arm ornaments which were in use in India from very early time the occurrence of bead strings are not rare but the usual common and widely worn form of arm ornament always had been of the shape of some sort of a ring. We may now pass on to the rings discovered in the Indus valley, the number of which is by no means insignificant. A good many of these rings appear to have been worn as ornaments of the arm.

A number of these rings occurs in different metal. These rings have, however, been found in very bad states of preservation and many will never be restored to their original states.

Some of these rings were made of thin sheets of metal. These sheets were first made into tubes of different shape and it appears that these tubes were originally filled with some sort of core, probably bitumen, which melted away in course of time. It may be pointed out here that rings made of metal tubes are still widely worn all over India and are known as *vālā* (=Sanskrit *valaya* =braclet). In these modern bracelets cores of shellac are widely used. From the point of using some core to harden the

74 Hasan, *Excavations at Giza* p. 44, pl. lxxviii, lxxiv.

metal tubes the Indus valley craftsman had already passed the earlier stages of evolution and the rings had already assumed a definite shape upon which little fundamental change was made during the subsequent age.

Very few metal rings have been found in any fair state of preservation but the technique in which these rings were made appear to have been more or less the same. The tubes in the rings were made by joining the sheets inside the rings, the edges of the sheets sometimes only met, sometimes they were allowed to overlap securing the core inside. The two ends of the rings, after being bent to assume shape, were probably cut with a saw. Sometimes there are found two small holes drilled at these ends evidently to pass some sort of thread. It appears that after the rings were worn the two ends of the threads were fastened so that the ends of the rings might not get widened allowing them to escape from the arms. It is interesting to note that the surface of the metals were in all these rings, left without any decoration and the merit of these bracelets lay in the high polish of their surface. We have examples of works of granulation and even inlay but it cannot, however, be explained why the polished metal surface was usually preferred to any undulated, embossed, granulated or any other form of decoration.

The rings of faience shell and terracotta have generally been found in fragmentary conditions. In some bangles of faience and shell, the outer surfaces of the rings happened to be decorated with one, two, or three deep grooving or relief of a herringbone pattern⁷⁵. The herringbone pattern is a very widely used decorative design of the Indus valley and can be seen to occur frequently on the earthenware vases. This design can be traced also in Egypt⁷⁶. Why it came to be so closely associated with the bracelets cannot be definitely said. Several other designs may also be traced but the herringbone design was liked most.

Of the rings found intact, a pair of faience ornaments deserves special notice because of the peculiar heart-shaped form of the rings and the deeply serrated edges. The inner side of the rings are regularly polished and it appears probable that the rings were used as wristlets. This peculiar pair of bracelets was discovered at Harappa⁷⁷.

75 *MIC*, pl. cxxxix, 1—also figs. 57

76 Petrie, *Decorative Art of Egypt*, p. 51, figs. 91, 92

77 *ASI*, *AR*, 1934-35, pl. xi, fig. 30

A nice specimen of terracotta bracelet discovered in an undamaged condition in a pit at Mohenjo-daro shows that ornaments made in terracotta were also made with sufficient care. The practice of using terracotta ornaments was prevalent. Made of fine clay the object was given a very smooth surface and a slip of pink paint to make it attractive. Its pair is missing.⁷⁸

The copper rings which are so numerous have been found to occur mostly in simple form. They were usually made by unceremonious bending of wires of very little thickness. Of these rings some are too small in diameter and were probably meant to be worn either as finger or as ear rings. There is a curious ring of silver having a square bezel showing a Maltese cross on it. The existing of this object shows that the use of finger rings was also in vogue. The practice of sealing documents with rings of personal use has been a very common one in Egypt, Greece, Mesopotamia and India and it may not be unreasonable to think that the bezel seen on the ring mentioned above served a similar purpose.⁷⁹

Other ornaments

Reference has already been made to two peculiar gold ornaments while describing the hoard of jewellery found at Harappi. Each of these ornaments has 27 conical bosses of gold soldered together in an ingenious device, seven placed at the middle while the remaining twenty surround them on all sides. At each end of the ornaments is found a small hook which was evidently meant for accommodating some sort of fastener. Rings made of similar bosses, usually made of silver are still now found as a popular ornament among the women of northern India. These are now known as *Kadā*. It is quite possible that the beautiful ornaments which occur in pair were also meant for the adornment of arm.⁸⁰

The account of personal ornaments discovered from the Indus valley sites is not complete without a description of the peculiar S-shaped object referred to above. At the base of the object there is a flat S-shaped plate of silver. On this plate were soldered the tiny beads of gold symmetrically bent to assume the peculiar shape. It is then inlaid with two rows of tiny cylindrical beads of burnt steatite capped with gold ends. In each of the two loops formed within the plate there are pinholes, evidently for attach-

⁷⁸ *MIC*, p. 528, pl. clui, 12. ⁷⁹ *MIC*, p. 520, pl. cxlviii, A, fig. 13.

⁸⁰ Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, p. 64, pl. lxxxvii, 6, 20.

ment. Mr Vats is of opinion that the thing could be worn as an attachment to wearing-apparel as a brooch. On the other hand it may be pointed out that the object has close affinity to the modelled buckles seen on the girdles of the figures of clay. It is evident from these figures that several types of girdle buckles were in use but no actual specimen excepting this one is found to have any similarity to these modelled buckles. It may not be unreasonable to think that this one is a surviving specimen of the type of buckles which were actually in use.

We have ended with a brief account of the forms and the techniques of the principal specimens of ornaments recovered from the chalcolithic sites of India. 'Trinkets' observed Mayers 'are closely connected with dress and costume, and like them objects of fashion.' He had also very aptly said that the form and finish of ornaments are governed not only by fashion and taste of each period but also by the technical skill of the workman. It may further be added that what has been said by Mayers is not all. Jewellery forms are also conditioned by the peculiar artistic tendencies of the different people which make these ornaments. The mutual influence of neighbouring people upon each other are also very often found reflected in the artistic activities of both.

Very little is known regarding the dress and costume of the Indus valley people. Of a people living in a moist tropical atmosphere nature usually demands their body to be kept bare. From literature as well as sculpture of ancient India it appears that the early inhabitants of the country maintained, irrespective of sex, the tradition of going with as little clothing as possible. Bare body eventually affords a complete freedom in the use and display of personal ornaments in as many varieties as human fancy may conceive. Keeping the body bare as well as going with loads of personal ornaments on have been considered by many people as barbarous but the advantages of both these habits have always been exploited by the Indian jeweller to the fullest extent. From the sculptural remains and the actual ornaments found in the Indus valley it may not be unreasonable to think that these earliest inhabitants of the country were not far removed from their successors in both these practices.

The taste of the period can be guessed to a certain extent from the bronze, stone and the terracotta figures discussed above. The figure showing a dignified personality clad in a shawl displays a fillet around the head and an armlet around the surviving upper arm. It does not show any

neck wear. Does it suggest that people of noble origin did not favour the wearing of any neck ornament?

The figures of the two dancing statuettes show a peculiar way of adorning one's arms. Dr Mackay suggests that this might be a peculiar fashion prevailing among the dancing women. The numerous terracotta figures, however, suggest that like the Indians of the early historic age the Indus valley people also took delight in wearing as many ornaments on the adornable parts of the body and this provided sufficient scope for the jeweller to formulate his ornaments in as many varieties as possible.

The technical knowledge of the Indus valley jeweller was of an advanced character, the steps in the progress of their achievement cannot, however, be traced. Study in the evolution of technical knowledge shows that the artist began from a very simple state. The earliest ornaments, as has already been said, were flowers and creepers, tree leaves and feathers of birds, claws and bones of animal, etc. Introduction of stones and metals was the next stage. At this stage it was probably the aim of the artist to make their ornaments look as near their prototypes like the flowers etc. as possible. Repetition led to conventionalisation. Then probably came the urge to break the monotony of forms and surfaces. This stage probably saw the coming of the advanced technical skills like the casting, soldering, inlaying, embossing, cutting jewels and encrusting these on metal surfaces. The last one was the crowning achievement of the jeweller. In the Indus valley precious stones were not known but all the above mentioned techniques including the encrusting of stones on metal surface were already in existence in the Indus valley. They showed originality in finding out the process of making the artificial coloured object called faience and inlaid it frequently on gold and other surfaces. The soldered conical bosses in the supposed arm-pieces show a great advancement in the art of shaping, polishing and soldering while on the 8-shaped piece we come across the technique of inlaying stones on the surface of gold. This art is not known to occur in Mesopotamia, in Egypt and Siberia it appears quite late in date. In Egypt it occurs in the pectorals of the XIIIth Dynasty while the Siberian objects cannot be dated earlier than 1000 B.C. The way in which the Indus valley workers overcame the monotony of form also appear to be of their own find.

It may be pointed out that the Indus jeweller scrupulously avoided animal forms which are quite common in Egypt, among the Scythians of

Siberia and in Persia from where it had also found its way to Greece. Sprinkle of animal form is not rare in Indian jewellery of early historic age but foreign influence appears responsible for the phenomenon.

In summing up, attention may be drawn to an interesting feature regarding the finds of the ornaments. It is the existence of highly developed technical forms side by side with ornaments of materials in which there had been no scope for showing any technical brilliance. The struggle for mastery over various complicated techniques was already in a highly advanced stage and in this respect the jeweller of India had far surpassed his neighbour in Iran and Mesopotamia. Their indebtedness to their neighbour in respect of jewellery forms and techniques was, as in case of various other arts, insignificant. Then what was the reason of the existence of ornaments embodying elaborate technical skill on the same level with the ornaments of very common type.

Its answer rests with the very character of the sites. The excavations carried out in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Siberia etc. have brought to light only one aspect of life that of people of an economically well placed order. Whatever hail from these countries belonged either to a king or a queen or men of similar position.

The sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa are totally different from their neighbours in this respect. It cannot be said to whom the ornaments so far discovered from these sites belonged. But the antiquities discovered from the sites reflect the taste of the citizens irrespective of their economic position. That is why there are objects which were used by economically well placed people side by side with objects used by very poor people with little scope for the display of technical skill. But the care taken to finish the bracelet of terracotta compares quite favourably with the efficiency shown in finishing the elegant ear ornament or the elaborate 8 shaped brooch.

KAIYAN K. GANGULI

The Historical Background of the Works of Kālidāsa

In determining the probable date of Kālidāsa there is practically complete unanimity among scholars regarding the connection of Kālidāsa with one Vikramāditya. Although Sanskrit literature makes no mention of the relation of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya in any of the numerous works dealing with Vikramāditya, yet on the authority of a verse¹ in a work called *Jyotirvidyābhāṣana* attributed to Kālidāsa, which work is itself not accepted as a genuine work of Kālidāsa and has been more or less accurately assigned to the 11th century A.D., all modern scholars speak of the unquestionable tradition of India regarding the connection of Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya.

After accepting this connection, the attempt of scholars has been to fix the particular Vikramāditya in whose reign Kālidāsa could have flourished. Yaśovarmā of Kanauj is too late. The majority of scholars are inclined to identify the Vikramāditya with one of the Gupta emperors. Some people try to show that this must be the Vikramāditya who founded the Vikrama Era.² In the name Vikramorvaśīva and in the occurrence of the word Vikrama twice in the first Act of that drama,³ people assume that Kālidāsa was hinting at Vikramāditya. In the names of Kumāra Skanda and Candia born of ocean found in the *Kumārasambhava* and in the *Raghuvamśa* there is the opinion prevailing that there are hints about Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and Candragupta son of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Further, in the conquests of Rāghu people see a similarity with the conquests of Samudragupta. In the *Aśvamedha* of Puṣyamitra mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*,⁴ people see a reference to the great sacrifice performed by Samudragupta. Not only this, in the various words connected with the root *gup*, they see a hint of the Gupta dynasty.

1 धन्वन्तरि-क्षपणकास्यसिंह-शङ्ख-वेताल-अष्टि-षट्कर्पूर-कालिदासाः ।

ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः मभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नैव विक्रमस्य ॥

2 B.C. 56

3 (a) दिष्ट्या महेन्द्रोपकारपर्याप्तेन विक्रममहिम्ना वर्द्धते भवान् । and (b) अनुत्तरेकः खलु विक्रमालङ्कारः ।

4 In the fifth Act See note 33 below

also The description in the *Kumārasambhava* of the ladies in the city of Osadhiprastha⁵ when Śiva was entering the city for his marriage and the same passages appearing in the *Raghuvamśa*⁶ when Aja was entering the city of Vidarbha for his marriage with Indumatī are taken to be imitations of passages in the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa.⁷ Kālidāsa's knowledge of Greek astronomy⁸ and his knowledge of the theories of Āryabhaṭa⁹ are other evidences brought forward to assign for Kālidāsa a date about four centuries after the Christian era.

Without attempting to discuss any of these views which are by now well known to everyone who is acquainted with Kālidāsa research and without even giving any references to modern contributions in connection with the points mentioned above, I turn my attention to find out if there are other evidences that point out to any other date for the great poet. There is nothing that can be called a definite evidence. If there were such an evidence there would have been no controversy on the point. The matter has to be decided by inferences. What are the most acceptable data for such inferences? This is the only point at issue.

The Bharatavākya in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹⁰ is something unique. It mentions the name of the hero of the drama. It is only in the *Mudrārāsakaśa* that we come across the name of the hero appearing in the Bharatavākya.¹¹ Usually it refers to the king reigning at the time when the drama was first put on the stage and that without any mention of the

5 Canto VII, verses 56-60

6 Canto VII, verses 5-16. There are slight variations in some places.

7 Canto III, verses 13-24

8 Use of Jāmitra in अथौषधानामधिपस्य वृद्धो तिथौ च जामिबगुणान्वितायाम् which is a Greek word. *Kumārasambhava*, VII-1

9 *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XIV, verse 40

10 त्वम्मे प्रसादसुखी भव चरिह नित्य-

मेतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपच्छेतोः ।

आशास्यमीतिविगमप्रवृत्ति प्रजाना

सम्पतस्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नाग्रिमिले ॥

11 वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपं
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिवे भूतधाली ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजबुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्वन्धुवृत्त्यधिरमवतु महीं पार्श्ववधन्नुतः ॥

Here king Candragupta is mentioned as reigning over the kingdom

Bharatavākya it is the reigning king that is mentioned without giving his name as in the *Mrcchakatika* and the *Venīśambhāra*¹⁶ or by actual mention of his name as in the *Mudrārāksasa*,¹⁷ then it is not unnatural to presume that the name Agnimitra mentioned in the Bharatavākya of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is also the name of the reigning king. Agnimitra is also the hero and since we do not know of any other king named Agnimitra who could be the contemporary and patron of Kālidāsa, the most reasonable position will be to assume that in this drama, the hero is the reigning king himself, namely, Agnimitra, in whose time and under whose patronage Kālidāsa flourished.

Apart from the mention of the hero as the reigning king in the Bharatavākya, this last verse in the drama, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, is unique in other ways. This last verse in the drama is not really a Bharatavākya, it simply says in the second half that the drama has no Bharatavākya.¹⁸ The first half is a part of the story.¹⁹ In all the dramas, the story ends before the last verse, called the Bharatavākya. If there are two verses in the end, the first is a part of the story and the second is outside the story.²⁰ Here the first half of the verse is a part of the story, being the words of the hero to his first consort. Then in the second half, the actor who took the part of the hero announces to the audience (and this is outside the story) that the usual benediction which is expected at that stage (*āśāyana*) is unnecessary and hence cancelled, in so far as there is nothing to be prayed for when Agnimitra was reigning over the kingdom. Thus what we are considering is not the Bharatavākya of the drama, but rather the absence of a Bharatavākya in the drama.

The only major objection to accepting Agnimitra, the hero of the drama, as also a contemporary of Kālidāsa is that no poet could have portrayed a reigning king in such unfavourable colours. I have discussed the problem of the character of Agnimitra in the drama in a paper which will appear in the Silver Jubilee Number of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona. There I have shown that Agnimitra

16 धर्मेनिष्ठाश्च भूपाः in *Mrcchakatika* and अवनिमवनिपाला, पान्नु in *Venīśambhāra*.

17 पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः

18 आशास्यमीतिविगमप्रमृति प्रजाना सम्पत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नार्तिमित्रे ।

19 स्वप्ने प्रसादसुमुखो भव चण्डि नित्यमेतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपद्देतोः ।

20 This is the case in *Mrcchakatika*, *Nāgānanda* etc.

is the great hero of Kālidāsa and that the usual judgment about his character does scant justice to the great poet. I have also explained there that Kālidāsa had Agnimitra in mind when he described Raghu and Kumāra in his two great epics.

As we know from the drama, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Agnimitra had his capital at Vidiśā; during the life-time of his father Pusyamitra. There is no record to show that Vidiśā was at any other time a great imperial capital. In the *Meghasandēśa* Vidiśā is mentioned दिक्षु प्रथितविदिशलक्षणा राजधानीम्²¹ "Vidiśā, the imperial capital famed in all the quarters." This description is more appropriate at the time of Agnimitra than at any other time. Those who have taken note of this point find it necessary to offer some explanation²² since they cannot get away from the idea of Kālidāsa being a contemporary of Vikramāditya and from the consequent need to put Kālidāsa at about 56 B.C., i.e. about a century after the time of Agnimitra.

By the side of this description of Vidiśā as the great imperial capital, one must read the description of the city Ujjayinī in the *Meghasandēśa*. Though there are many verses²³ devoted to the description, there is not a mention of the palace or of the emperor. There is the mention of the river,²⁴ of the temple,²⁵ of the streets,²⁶ of the house,²⁷ of the handsome damsels²⁸ and of many things. It is described as everything except an imperial capital. This looks rather improbable, by the side of the description of Vidiśā, if this short poem were written by Kālidāsa under the patronage of the great Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.

Scholars speak of the partiality of Kālidāsa for Ujjayinī in so far as he wants the cloud, though on an urgent mission, to go out of his direct route

21 *Meghasandēśa*, I-24

22 *Nagpur University Journal* vol. V, Paper on Kālidāsa by I. J. Kedar

23 *Meghasandēśa*, I-30 to 38

24 शिप्रावातः in *Meghasandēśa* I-31 and गन्धर्वस्याः in *Meghasandēśa* I-33

25 महाकालमामाद्य in *Meghasandēśa* I-34. This and the next two verses refer to the temple

26 नरपतिपथे in *Meghasandēśa*, I-37

27 हर्म्यवस्याः in *Meghasandēśa*, I-32 and सवनवल्लभौ in *Meghasandēśa*, I-38

28 यत्र स्त्रीणां हरति in *Meghasandēśa*, I-31, ललितवनितापादरागाहितेभ्यु in *Meghasandēśa*, I-32, तीयकाडानिरतयुवतिभानतिक्रैः in *Meghasandēśa*, I-33, वेस्याः in *Meghasandēśa*, I-35, योषितां in *Meghasandēśa*, I-37

to see Ujjayinī.²⁹ But few people have stopped to think why Kālidāsa took the cloud first to Vidiśā and then westward to Ujjayinī. If Kālidāsa was so partial to Ujjayinī, he could have taken the cloud straight away to Ujjayinī. That shows his very great partiality to the great imperial capital of his time, namely, Vidiśā. Kālidāsa could not think of anything else for one starting from Rāmagiri and proceeding northwards than first to go to Vidiśā, then he directs the cloud to visit Ujjayinī also. In so far as Vidiśā is the scene of one of his dramas,³⁰ he did not describe the city in this poem. But Ujjayinī, the city of historical importance he had to describe in detail, since that is not the scene of any other work of his.

This great partiality for Vidiśā justifies the assumption that Kālidāsa lived at a time when Vidiśā was a great imperial capital and that is only at the time when Agnimitra had his Court there.

In the *Raghuvamśa* we can see a clear allegorical representation of the decay in India under the later Mauryan kings, the revival of religion by Pusyamitra and the birth of his great son who founded a new dynasty and who consolidated the empire that had broken up. One cannot miss a close resemblance between Dilīpa and Pusyamitra. Both were religiously minded. Dilīpa, the representative of kingship in India, is informed by his Teacher that the continuity of kingship was about to be broken on account of the sins committed towards Kāmadhenu.

इत्थितं तदवज्ञानाद्विद्धि सार्गलमात्मनः ।
प्रतिबभ्राति हि श्रेयः पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः³¹ ॥

"There is this obstacle to your desires on account of the want of respect shown to her. Know you this. Indeed, departure from showing respect to those who deserve respect obstructs prosperity." Dilīpa performs penances, he is blessed with a son. The very fact that he prefaces the mention of the dynasty of Raghu with sixteen royal virtues³² that adorned the kings, indicates that he had in mind some kings who were not what the kings of the Raghu dynasty were.

From the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we know that Pusyamitra had performed a great sacrifice, that he entrusted his grandson, Vasumitra with the responsibility of protecting the sacrificial horse, that the Yavanas attacked the

29 वक्रः पन्था यदपि Meghasandakā, I-37

30 *Mālavikāgnimitra*

31 *Raghuvamśa*, I-79.

32 In four verses, namely *Raghuvamśa*, I-5 to 8

horse on the banks of the Sindhu, that the boy hero defeated the Yavanas and recovered the horse and that Pūṣyamitra performed the sacrifice with that horse.³³ The incidents narrated in the third Canto of the *Raghuvamśa* are closely similar to these historical facts. Indra steals the sacrificial horse of Dilīpa, Dilīpa sends his son Raghu who was then a mere boy, to recover the horse, Raghu fights with Indra and returns with victory.³⁴

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it is Pūṣyamitra's son who marries the sister of the king of Vidarbha. In the *Raghuvamśa* it is Dilīpa's grandson who marries the sister of the Vidarbha king. In the *Raghuvamśa* it is Dilīpa's son who recovers the sacrificial horse that was stolen while in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* it is Pūṣyamitra's grandson who performs this feat. Both were mere boys and great heroes. The agreement is far greater than the minor difference.

From the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, it is found that Agnimitra had conquered Vidarbha and had sway over that area. He could decide about the succession to the throne and he could practically dictate his terms to the Vidarbha king. In the *Raghuvamśa*, it is found that the conquests of Raghu extended upto the southern extremity of India. This may be an exaggerated description of the conquests of Agnimitra. Even the Mauryan empire did not extend to the extreme south of India.

According to Kālidāsa, Pūṣyamitra was not the emperor. He is styled Senādhipati in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, though he performs the sacrifice. From the fact that even at the time of Pūṣyamitra, it is Agnimitra who is styled Rājā, it may be concluded that according to Kālidāsa Agnimitra was the first real king after the revival of religious life in India. And

33. The whole incident is mentioned in the letter of Pūṣyamitra to Agnimitra, which runs as follows: यज्ञशरणात् सेनापतिः पुण्यमितो वैदिशस्थं पुलमायुष्मन्तमग्निमित्रं ज्ञेहात् परिष्वज्यानुदर्शयति । विदितमस्तु । योऽसौ राजसूयदीक्षितेन मया राजपुत्रशत-परिवृतं गोप्तरं वसुमित्रमादिश्य संवत्सरोपावर्तनीयो निरर्गलस्तुरगो विदूढः स सिन्धो-र्वक्षिणे रोधसि चरन्नश्वानीकेन यवनानां प्रार्थितः । तत उभयोस्तेनयोर्महानासीत् सन्दर्भः ।

ततः परान् पराजित्य वसुमित्रेण धन्विना ।

प्रभक्ष्य ह्रियमाणो मे वाजिराजो निवर्तितः ॥

साऽऽहमिदानीं श्रृंगमतेव सगरः पौत्रेण प्रत्याहताश्वो यक्ष्ये । तदिदानीमकालहीनं विगतरोष-चेतसा भवता वधूजनेन सह यज्ञसेवनायागन्तव्यम् ।

34. *Raghuvamśa*, III-38 to 67

in *Raghuvamśa* also, the dynasty is called after Raghu and not after Dilīpa. There is some parallel between these two facts.

Raghu proceeds from Aparānta to Pārasika by the land route,³⁵ and the implication is that the sea-route is also available, perhaps as a shorter route and the common route. Unless Kālidāsa wanted to give this implication there is no need to specify that Raghu proceeded by land. In Pārasika he met the Yavanas. Although it is not specifically stated that he fought with the Yavanas in the Pārasika country, there is the mention of Yavana women in that country.³⁶ In Kerala he speaks about Kerala women,³⁷ in the country of the Hūnas, he speaks about the Hūna women.³⁸ Why should he speak about Yavana women in Pārasika unless at the time of Kālidāsa, Pārasika was a Yavana kingdom? Pārasika was a Yavana kingdom at the time of Agnimitra. The Greek empire in Asia collapsed some time after Agnimitra.

From Pārasika, Raghu proceeded northwards³⁹ and reached the Sindhu.⁴⁰ Sindhu may mean only a river or we may accept the variant Vankṣu and identify it with Oxus. Anyway Raghu reached a river to the north of Pārasika and there he met the Hūnas. This suggests that Kālidāsa wrote the *Raghuvamśa* before the Huns crossed the Oxus and came to India. This is evidence for an earlier date for Kālidāsa rather than for a later date.

When the *Raghuvamśa* is closely studied, it is found that when Kālidāsa described Dilīpa, Raghu and Aja, he had Pūsyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra in his mind. Aja, though a great hero, is of a soft nature. From the *Harsacarita* of Bāṇa we find that Sumitra (perhaps a mistake for Vasumitra), son of Agnimitra, was fond of dramas.⁴¹ The reference may be to the same Vasumitra mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

35 पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना *Raghuvamśa*, IV-60

36 यवनीमुखपद्मानाम् *Raghuvamśa*, IV-61

37 भयोत्पृष्टविभूषाणां तलं केरलयोषिताम् *Raghuvamśa*, IV-54

38 तलं हूणावरोधानाम् *Raghuvamśa*, IV-68

39 ततः प्रतस्थे कीबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् *Raghuvamśa*, IV-66

40 सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः *Raghuvamśa*, IV-67

41 अतिदयितलास्यस्य च शैलूषमध्यमध्यास्य मूर्धानमसिलतया मृगालमिवालुनादग्नि-
मितात्मजस्य सुमितस्य मिलदेव *Harsacarita*, VI Ucchvāsa

No conquest by an Indian king of a later day extends so far to the west as is found in the conquests of Raghu. And we know from history that the empire of Candragupta Maurya extended to Persia. If Kālidāsa lived at a time not far removed from the glorious days of the Mauryan empire, he must have heard of its extent, and in Raghu's conquests, he might have given a (perhaps exaggerated) description of how Agnimitra revived the entire glory of the Mauryan empire even in its extent. It is not the empire of Samudragupta nor of Yaśovarman that Kālidāsa could have had in mind when he described the conquests of Raghu, it is the empire of Candragupta Maurya that was his original, if at all he had some historical original for his description. He might have written the great epic to inspire the king and the nation with a sense of the lost glory of the Mauryan empire with a desire to revive the greatness, to restore the vast empire, to reconsolidate the dismembered empire. He could not have written the poem for the pleasure of a Vikramāditya, he could have written it only to give inspiration and courage to a nation that had fallen into unhappy days after a long glorious past. The unification of India, the restoration of religion and piety into national life as a necessary preliminary to the revival of the decaying civilization and the waning power, the stirring up of a spirit of patriotism—these must have been the purpose (if a poet has a purpose at all) that moved Kālidāsa to write the epic poem.

In the *Kumārasambhava* also, one can see, if one looks carefully, the same idea that is found in the *Raghuvaṃśa*, namely the great empire built up by Candragupta, extending far beyond the modern India, its destruction, the decay and corruption in national life, the divorce of religion and piety from the life of the people, consequent foreign domination and oppression, the nation's penance and united call through the person of king Pusyanitra to the great God to be reunited to the country and her affairs, the final union of the Divine with the life of the country, the birth of Agnimitra, the great national hero, as the result of this union, the restoration of the country from foreign domination and oppression by this hero and the enjoyment by the country of freedom and prosperity. The political allegory of the *Kumārasambhava* will be dealt with in greater detail in another paper. Here I have simply given the general outline.

The earliest Phases of the Company's Indigo Trade

The dyeing demands of Europe and also to a certain extent of Asia, compelled the Company to take an eager interest in indigo during the earlier half of the 17th century. Even in the 16th century the English used to obtain it from the Portuguese. John Nieuhoff says, by the middle of the 17th century, "Anil or Indigo (was) first of all transported (into Brasil) by the Portugueses from the Canary Islands". English trade in this commodity through Aleppo was also developed by this time. Attempts to grow it in England were also made.

Burma where "they use to prick the skinn and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes", apparently demanded some indigo. Samarkhand, Kashgar and other contiguous countries, as well as India consumed indigo even in the early 17th century. Arabia and Iran also furnished attractive markets to the Company, at this time.

Dr Balkrishna says, "India continued to enjoy the monopoly" (of supplying indigo) 'till the middle of the seventeenth century". It may be however noted here that Ceylon indigo was of European commercial interest certainly earlier than 1638. One of the clauses in the Treaty concluded between the Dutch and Rājasingha of Sinhalā in 1638, lays down that the "service(s)" which the armed forces of the (Dutch) United Chartered East India Company were to render to 'His Majesty's lands of Ceylon shall be recouped by His Majesty in cinnamon, pepper, cardamom, indigo, wax, rice and other valuable products of his country". Maetsukyer says that it was "found growing in a wild state in the seven Corles", in 1650. "Ten ware den indigo", he says, "die in de 7 Corles in't wilt te wassen gevonden wort".

He however adds, "We, for our part, have attached little importance to the latter (indigo), the less that, although it could easily be manufactured, we should have to do it all through our own people, which would perhaps cost the Company not less than what the indigo could be procured for in other places, (wellicht niet minder soude komen te kosten, dan den indigo op andere plaetsen ingekost wort) so that we may reap only a small profit thereby". But there were hopes. "The samples recently sent us by the Opper koopman Adriaen Van der Meyden from

Negombo (about twenty miles from the modern capital) are somewhat better than the earlier although they do not include a finished specimen".

According to Nieuhoff, "in the year 1642 one Gillin Venant brought some indigo-seed from the American islands into Brasil" "The Indigo" after some effort "came to its full Perfection, several Patterns of which were sent into Holland" "The wild Aniel" also grew "in Brasil in great plenty"

Baldaeus points out, "It is sowed in several Places about Agra; in Fetta-pour, 12 Cos from Agra, near the City of Byana, 30 Cos from Agra (where is the best), near the City of Basaune, 38 Cos from Agra, near the City of Kindowen, 40 Cos from Agra" "The broad indigo" "grows about two Leagues from Amadabath, the Capital City of Gusuratte, specially in the Village of Circhees". "Among those Commodities which are transported from Masulipatam, the Indigo (is) none of the least". He adds that several varieties were available for exportation "The Indigo Laura" or "Indigo de Bayana" is said to be the first crop "of three different sorts", "is call'd Vouthy", "the second Gatty, and the third Cattel" "The chief Signs of the goodness of the Indigo are, its Lightness and feeling dry betwixt the Fingers, its swimming upon the Water, and, if thrown upon burning Coals, its emitting a Violet-colour'd Smoke, and leaving but little Ashes behind" Among others, Flkington (in his letter of 31st December, 1614) similarly speaks of various kinds of indigo, and their purchase prices.

Baldaeus also says, "Hereabouts (in south India and Ceylon?) also grows the Indigo call'd Aniel de Biant by those of Gusuratte" The translator's marginal note says, though later on, "Good indigo is also made in Coromandel".

When Oxwicke and Farewell were trying to purchase indigo at Bloach Aldworth advised them not to buy "that which will not swim"

Finch writes that roundabout "Cickell (Sarkhej)" "in a towne 4c from Amadavar", "mill" was "made" This was however not "so good as that of Biana" Another variety was "called cole, of a grosse sort". "Some three courses from Amadavar", says Withington, "is the chiefe place (Sarkhej) where they make these flatte indico, and there wee spente twoe or three dayes in seeing the making thereof"¹

1 Nieuhoff's *Remarkable Voyages and Travels to Brasil*; Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England, Khan, The East India Trade in the XVII century*, Fitch's account in Hakluyt, Foster etc., Finch's narrative in Purchas Foster etc., Office copy of the Dutch treaty in the Government Archives

"Indicoe Byana" (carried by the Royal Anne to England) as distinct from indigo dust which is not priced at all in the list, cost the Old Joint Stock about 78 25 mahmudís a maund of 23½ seers, by 1619, 1882 maunds (of 24 seers) "Indico Serquese" cost 75,981 mahmudís and 15 pice, while 15 "small maunds" of the same commodity were rated at little over 645 mahmudís, lower down in the list 12 churls of "indicoe Jambasar" (in Broach) conveyed by the Lion, was purchased at 1,132 mahmudís and 10½ pice. The prices of the Sarkhej and Biana varieties are referred to later on, (for example) in the letter to Methwold and others dated 26th. August, 1619, and samples sent from Masulipatam are praised highly. In 1621, we however find that "Jambuzar indico, in England is valued (as it is) nought and not worth the fraught whome". Jambusar and Sarkhej indigoes are distinguished in Martin's letter from Broach, of 12th October, 1621. Bickford and others again wrote from Sarkhej twelve days later that the Jambusar indigo was not to "be medeled withall, it not being worth the carriage home". The Company had forbidden its exportation to England.

Indigo was sold at this time near Ahmadabad in "squar baskets (which were) not made all of one bignesse". Another difficulty in the way of accurately indicating the weight of a bale lay in the fact that "all indicoe fills not alike".

Malynes in his *Lex Mercatoria* says that there were two sorts of indigo, "Carquez" (22d a lb) and "Aldcas" (18d. a lb).

In the "Note of Merchandise and commodities in the St Salvador and St John" of August, 1602, we find "pepper, cinnamon, cloves, indigo, silks, calicoes, ginger, wax", "ambergris, pearls" etc., arriving at Lisbon. "The lading of four ships of the East India for Lisbon" (in 1603) included indigo, spices, gems, cotton goods and silk.

In 1604, the Turkey Merchants complained that the direct importation of indigo spices, silks and other commodities from the East resulted in damage to their Levant trade.

Finch who says in 1609 "that the Portingals are still the fundamental cause of all our losses", was desirous "that against the next year we might have our whole stock employed in rich indigo with some other drugs there

(Ceylon), Instructive voot D E Heer Jacob van Kittensteyn" etc., Baldacus, A True and Exact Description of Malabar and Coromandel as also of the Isle of Ceylon" etc., O.C. (II) 223, Withington's account in *Purchas*, "A journey over Land" etc., and Foster etc.

(at Cambaya) to be had for our shipping" "I would be glad", he adds, "to do anything for the good of our right worshipful Company". He also says that he "was sent to buy nill or indigo at Byana in November, 1610" "The country which affordeth that rich nill which takes name of Byana is not above twentie or thirtie cose long". Biana in Bharatapura lies about fifty miles away from Agra. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the town was "ruinate, save two sarayes and a long bazar, with a few stragling houses" Next year, Finch "departed from Agra for Lahor and carried twelve carts laden with nil in hope of a good price".

"This herbe, being cut the moneth of aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then filled with water till it be covered, which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water. They let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the middest of which is another small cisterne or center, this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like batter or white starch, and then let it settle, scumming off the cleare water on the toppe, then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare waters, doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine, which they take foorth and spread on cloth to dry in the sunne, and being a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay then on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour), this is the cause of the sandy foot. So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse, and is called Aliad"

"Some deceitfully will take of the herbs of all three crops and steepe them all together, hard to be discerned, very knavishly. Fowre things are required in nill: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water or burning in the fire it cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes"

A merchant named Ferdinando Cotton wrote to the Company in November, 1612, "The Trade hath above 1000 churls of indigo, good store of silk, some cinnamon, the Hector hath indigo, aloes, cloves, pepper". The earlier Court Minutes refer to the sale of indigo not at all infrequently. Floris bought some indigo and cotton yarn at Masulipatam in 1614, and expected to reap a profit of "six or seven for one". Surat says on 19th August of the same year that Indigo, cotton goods, sugar and green ginger were some of "the chief English commodities in Surat". The availability of indigo and cotton yarn at Masulipatam is also referred to in the same document.

By the end of that year we find Surat regarding it (and cotton goods, yarn etc.) as 'fit to be reladen for England'. Edwardes writing from Ahmedabad, a little later, regards it as a very lucrative article of merchandise "more profitable than any other commodity from those parts", while Preston says on 17th December, that it was found abundantly in the Ahmedabad market and was cheap in price. John Sandcroft from that town quoted the price to the Company, and pointed out that there was enough of it "to lade three or four ships". Purchases of indigo at Ahmedabad are referred to by Alworth on 28th February, by Sandcroft on 1st March, and Dodsworth on 5th November 1615. An attempt to procure it there by Browne was delayed (according to his letter of 10th February, 1618), because of want of money.

A document of 29th December 1614 refers to its availability at "Baroach", the method of purchase and of packing it for transportation abroad. Preston writes from Ahmedabad to the Company on 1st January, 1615 that there was another market of indigo at Lahore which vied with that of Ahmedabad. Hawkins refers to Nicholas Uffet being at "Lahor with a remainder of indigo that was in William Finches power". By the middle of that year, the Hope with a cargo of indigo left for Europe.

Roe is requested to get musters from Agra in 1616. His letter to Sultan Caronne (Khurram) of the same year sums up the English case to the Mughul thus:—"Our kingdom is naturally the most fructfull in Europe and the most abundant in all sorts of armes, cloth, and what soever is necessary for mans use besides which, your Highnes I suppose knowes not wee yearly bring into your port in ready money 50,000 malls of eight, for which wee only carry away callicoes and indigoes, to the enriching of your Highnes kingdoms with silver". Moreover, "for curious and rare toys, we have better means to furnish Your Highnes then any other, our kingdom abounding with all arts and our shipping trading into all the world, whereby there is nothing under the sunne which wee are not able to bring, if we knew Your Highnes pleasure, what you did most affect". Writing two years later, to Kerridge at Surat, he advises against submitting to Portuguese dictation in this matter. "Yf they misenforme not from Mesolapatan, ther is great store of indico shipt at some ports to the south, all which take curtassies (passes) of our enemies and pay thent duties for licence as lords of the sea'. Quasi-privateering was the weapon to be used to achieve their objective. The justification for this action, probably to

be regarded as shady, according to our twentieth century ideas, was a simple one. "If wee doe it not, the Dutch will".²

In the years that immediately follow, English interest in the merchandise continues unabated. In February, 1619, 278 fardles were sent from Agra to Surat through John Bangham. But next month, Surat urges Agra to buy more. It was then selling in the "aldeas" about Agra, at 24 to 25 rupees a mana.

On 17th March Surat wrote two letters, one to Broach referring to the buying of cardamoms and the other to Ahmadabad mentioning that all the cash in the hands of the Agra factors was spent on procuring the indigo referred to above. The prices at the time seem to have warranted a restriction of purchases at Ahmadabad.

By this time, Surat writes to the Company "Your Agra caphila in their cominge downe were sett upon by theeves on the way some 22 dayes journey hence that tooke from them 14 churles Bvana indico and killed four or five servantes that attended it." Bangham wrote from Gwalior on 25th February, 1619, "I am soyle to heare of John Younges disaster etc, yett am in good hope of better sucksess, which God graunt." The truth seems to be that Young who was in charge of the qafilā refused to pay the "custom or radaree, whereof it seems demand was made," and thereupon the toll-guard slew his escort and plundered the caravan.

We may note here that indigo at this time was usually sold by the 'churle', 'bundle' or 'fardle'. This unit was of two kinds,—one of about five *manas*, and the other of about four. Leachland of Ahmadabad, for example, refers to a proposed sale of indigo, at "50 rupees per fardle of four mandes and 7 seares", by a broker who is said to be 'a sutelle knave'.

Another caravan from Agra of 1,600 camels was detained at Chopra about 60 miles from Burhanpur ("some thirtv course on this side Biamport") shortly afterwards at the instigation of a Portuguese jeweller named Francisco Soares, by that name of rouges'. The mischief was done, according to Biddulph, "per one Condyt Suffer, Armenian, who Francisco

² Brit Mus Egerton Ms 2122, f 1, f 124, 2123, f 77, 2123, f 82, f 101 Cal St Papers Col series etc 1513-1616, 309, 327 etc, Domestic Corresp Jac I, Vol X, no 27, OC 10, Letters Received I, OC, 90, Ct Bk III, CSP 737, 763, 776 etc., OC 213, 1944, 215, 187, 258, Eng Factories 1618-21 etc, OC, 609 (written on paper of Indian make), OC, (II) 221, 224, OC, (III) 289, Hawkins in Purchas, Foster etc, Addl Ms 6115, f 96, Foster. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, OC, 612, etc

Swaryes, Portingall, lefte there at his departure for Decann, as his procurador to follow this busynes to *say the English goods*". In fact, (Nicholas) Bangham and Sprage, two English factors, had defrauded the Portuguese merchant of the sale proceeds of some "*cheyne ware etc.*"

The English petitioned Mírzá Abdul Rahím (son of Akbar's guardian, Burám Khán) the then Khánkhánán, to obtain redress for their three grievances—arrest of the qáfila, imprisonment of Sprage and plundering of indigo. Their agent conscious of their nation's sea-power bearded the lion in his den, and after some discussion, told him that reprisals might follow. "When I saw noe hope of present release of the goods, I told him that everye yeare our shippes did guard the Princes and merchants shippes to and from the Red Sea againe to Suratt, and therefore doubted not but wee should finde justice one waye or other". The Mughul however was too cultured to brag. He replied with dignity that he "had noe shippes now, yf met with any of his, bid us take them, yf tooke the King or Princes, must give answer to them, who would strictly requite it of us". But the historian cannot but note that previous English quasi-privateerings must have made the Khánkhánán know that the threat was no idle one. We thus come across the link between English quasi-privateering and expansion of the Company's trading activities, once again. In any case, after receipt of the Prince's instructions, he "gave presente order for a full restitution without further delay or question". The English loss in indigo was to be made good, and a "quiett and secure passage" was to be given to them through any part of the region under his government.

In October, 1623, we find the English enumerating this grievance to the Hakím of the Mughal along with other "wrongs, oppreissions, losses, and hindrances sustained by the English nation living under the protection and tiranous government of Sultan Choron and his officers". The entry runs thus:—"For 14 churles of Biana indigo taken away by force in anno 1618 out of the Agia capulo brought downe by John Young in the gagere of Shanawes Chon which at mns $4\frac{1}{2}$ of 30 pice weight the seare per churle is mns 63, the same at rup 35 per maun is rup 2,205 which at M $2\frac{1}{4}$ per peece amounts to the some of M 4, 961 8"

In addition to prejudicial interferences by Mughul officers there were also the vagaries of the weather to be contended with by the English trader in indigo. Owing to "such unaccustomed raynes (which) hath drowned the greatest parte of new indicoe in the countryes", it was perceived by the

middle of 1621 that its price would go up. About two weeks later, Agra wrote, "By report this hundred yeares therc hath not bin such extremitie of raynes, insoe much that most parte of the new indicoe drowned and the old much improved."

But by November, Surat managed to make "200 bales Biana indico and 9,000 maunes Serques", "ready for imbaling" in ships proceeding to England. In 1622, indigo was very dear. As it formed the principal commodity to be purchased at Agra, even the dissolution of the factory there it is pointed out, might be recommended, on account of the high price. A rumour that the English wanted to make large purchases of indigo made its price soar up higher. Halstead and others at Ahmadabad however expected on 12th September, to be able to buy more than 100 fardles. But about a week later, Halstead died, and the "Cutwall" seized up all our moneys, goods and clothes, beginninge with the deceased and soe proceeded with us all, nott leavinge one ragge to shift us, nor bedd or coate to lye on." He also "choptt (i.e. put the official *chāpi* on) all our bookes of accounts, wrytinge and chambers, and taken possession of all." Probably the Englishmen offered some resistance because the police officers are also said to have "disgracefully beate us and would have carryed us bound to the bassar (market place) and there inflicted further punishmentt uppon us, but by meanes of a brybe wee stopptt their furye." The English had just bought an "additional" 136 fardles of indigo. Here is therefore another example of the kind of interference by Indian authorities which served as a deterrent to the Company's (indigo) trade. On 10th December, Surat says that "the London, Jonas and Lyon now richlye laden with clothing, silke and indicoe, with above 8,000 mauns of pepper shot into hould amongst the churlges (of indigo) and now about the 15th or 20th present shall with Gods permission sett sayle togeather for" Europe. Early next year, Surat was informed by Ahmadabad of the purchase of 8,000 manas of indigo, 7,000 at Sakhaj, and the rest at Ahmadabad.

Heynes and Parker again report from Ahmadabad a few days later that they were sending 671 packages of indigo and cotton goods after having finished their Dholka purchases. The indigo sent, weighed 4,784 manas. Almost an equal quantity was to follow. But 35,500 rupees more were to be sent them to meet their obligations. 'Mamootte Tuckey' was urging them to buy Dholka (indigo) of which the Dutch were reported to have purchased 500 units. But Surat vetoed the idea and Mahmúd Taqí

was naturally sad over it. He was the *Díwán* of Ahmadabad, and an adherent of *Sháh Jahán*. He probably found means to get the local English agents on his side. But in their instructions dated 25th March, Surat remained firm, and declined to buy from him. On 31d April, we are told, Taqí got his indigo down to Ahmadabad, and the merchants selling indigo were forbidden not to sell any, till Taqí has succeeded in disposing of his. Negotiations were however at last opened with Taqí. He wanted cash down, at the rate of Rs. 40/- a bale for his 371 packages. The new and coarse indigo could be bought at that time for Rs. 7½ to 8 per *mana*. "Above 100 bales of indicoe (which was) to winter with (some) silke at Mocho" were made ready by Surat, early in 1623, for shipment to England. We also find Offley at Broach reporting to Rastell on 22nd October, 1623 that all the indigo was sent that very day. Leachland writing to Surat by the end of that year says that he contracted for about 1,200 *churles*, and was negotiating for 2,500 more. Some indigo was also bought at Cambay by the same time. Between 1624 and 1629 the dyeing industries of Europe went on consuming indigo eagerly, and English merchants showed themselves keen to purchase *Biana* in preference to *Sarkhej*. It was ordered from home that 33% of the Company's imports must be *Biana*. On 15th November 1624 Swally however asked the Company to reconsider its decision pointing out that *Biana* cost a third more.

Again on 4th February, 1625, they point out that (flat) *Sarkhej* was available at Rs. 12/- a *mana* while (round) *Biana* was 27 to 32 rupees 'thit maund'. The difference in the English prices of the two commodities were not in ratio to their Asiatic costs. They bought some *Sarkhej*, but could not buy any *Biana* for want of funds.

By the end of 1627, the Dutch are said to be purchasing indigo 'without feare or witt', and pushing up prices. In three weeks' time, the English at Agra had however succeeded in procuring in spite of Dutch opposition about 200 units at 32.5 to 35 rupees, a *mana*. There was some more available, but neither of the European nations had any cash to buy it with. The Asiatic refused credit to both. By March, *Sarkhej* (new) was available at 12.75 to 14.25 Rs. a *mana*.

Sarkhej continues to be bought (for example, by Boothby) by 1630. The Dutch by their huge purchases put the price up, thus inconveniencing the English factors. 'Synda soliciteth us to settle a factory there', wrote

Wylde in 1629, "which we meane to attempt, having sent thither a broker to bring us musters of all comoditys there". The same record also mentions that a supply of cinnamon had already been sent to Europe, that the Agra indigo was 300% dearer than Sarkhej, and that indigo was purchased at Ajmira. In pursuance of the plan to settle the new factory "we sent" "our broker to Sindee". He "is at last againe returned after much trouble and danger uppon the way, having been detained upward of 8 months, by reason of warrs and differences betweene the Rajaes through whose country hee was to passe". Again we come across an instance of a local war deterring the growth of indigo trade. Out of his samples, "two bales of indicoe with sundry musters of white cloth we send you uppon (some) ships, if they shall be found useful in England and beneficiall to recompence the expence and charge of settling a factory in that place your worships may determine, and we shall endeavour its performance". But Rastell's letter of 6th October (1630) points out that there occurred another of those famines which interfered with growth of indigo. He (and his Council) consequently refrained from instructing Ahmadabad to buy. On the last day of that year Surat wrote, "Many buyers as well Dutch as Persians, Atmenians, etc. having furnished themselves with the choicest wite (of the passed yeares growth) at excessive high rates, there" remained little room for making profitable purchases. Even indigo of very poor quality could not be purchased at less than 18 Rs. a mana. In the country "about Amadabad this yeares whole cropp on the ground is not likely to produce above two or three hundred fardles, which in former tymes hath not been soe little as 4 or 5,000". The Company had asked Surat to buy more 'indicoe' and less 'callicoe'. But these instructions could not under these circumstances be possibly obeyed. They promised however ship some Biana.

The S'Gravenhage (Dutch) was carving 886 churls of indigo and her consort 800 churls, of the same in 1632. By the end of that year, Cirqueze and Amadabad went up in price, till the same level as that of Agra and Biana was reached.

A record from Agra, dated 12th November 1633 estimates that the annual indigo output of the region round Agra came to 15,000 manas. Of this 33% was Biana. The indigo made at "Coaria, Coule" and "Jellaly" (of Aligad tahsil?) was not so good.

The emperor had farmed the whole produce to Manoharadāsa Danda. The transliteration of the name as given by Foster is wrong.

It is said that Mír Muhammad Amin (Mír Jumla) had pulled wires from behind the scene. He "did not onely cherish but hatch it (the plan of granting a monopoly) for his owne advantage, because (one year) he had sent for his owne account 1,200 fs of indico into Persia overland"

The English therefore thought of allying with the Dutch and refusing to buy any of the dyeing stuff, so that the Indian Government might be induced to reconsider its decision. A draft agreement was actually drawn up and discussed, on 15th November, 1633, while a scale of prices at which both nations were prepared to buy, was formulated. It was proposed to the Dutch that 42 rupees were to be paid for every Akbari mana of old, and 38 for that of new Biana, while a Surat mana of Sarkhej was not to be bought at any price exceeding eighteen rupees. The Dutch agreed.

The alternative suggestion that the English themselves should undertake to farm the supply was however considered to be undesirable for more than one reason.

The 'solemn contract consisting of 13 distinct articles' was however, the English complained, evaded in practice by the Dutch. At an excessive price their chief at Agra bought a large quantity from the Hindu merchant, just before the conclusion of the Anglo-Dutch agreement. 'After all this projecting', says the disappointed President Methwold on 2nd January 1634, "these designs are now crossed by the proceedings of the Dutch, who came this day and with some shew of sorrow presented to this Councell their principall factors letter from Agra, advertizing that he hath (as it seems upon some former orders sent him long before the knowledge of any treaty) bought a peicell of 1,500 fadles, amounting to 6,000 maen of Byana indicoe at 61 rupees the maen'

Captain Richard Allnutt reports that brokers told him that the perfidious Dutch had even declared their readiness to purchase all the indigo at a fixed rate, provided the English were not allowed to procure any. This promise (according to his version) induced the Indian Government to establish a monopoly.

The impartial historian must however point out in the same breath that according to the Governor of Surat "Mr. Hopkinson (had) made an overtune unto him of a contract for indicoe, in imitation of the contracts in Persia", 'Muzer Mulck' (Mír Músá Muz-z-ul-Mulck, the Governor was induced by this suggestion to become "the first projectour of this business (granting of a monopoly) unto the king."

It must also be remembered that according to the version of the English themselves, the Dutch 'punctually observed' the indigo contract 'after it was knowne. The mishapp fell out but few daies before, and if it had not so falne out, wee had bene undoubtedly free of this incombrance before this tyme."

Fremlen at Agra however foolishly contracted to purchase a considerable quantity from the Dutch, much to the annoyance of Surat which was preparing itself to smile in its sleeves at the locking up of a large Dutch capital by the highly priced indigo. "Mr Fremlen much against ther (of the Indian broker) advice," says Methwold, "had most improvidently bought 3,000 (2,000) md. Ecobaer of Byana indicoe at 64 rups per md."

There was perhaps some consolation to the English in India in the thought that the hated Dutch were not themselves doing too well in the indigo business. 'The Dutch Generall and Councell' had written that they had been able to sell their Sarkhej for 40 'steyvers', and then Biana only at an actually lower than Sarkhej rate—35 'steyvers'.

But English trade, it could not be denied, was hit very hard, indeed. "Agra hath proved like that curst cowe which hath given a good scoope of milke and kickt it downe with her heele." Moreover the indigo in one of their caravans was drenched with rain between Viana and Bardoli by this time. The Company's factors could not possibly (they pointed out in desperation) "struggle with monopolists that are backed from the treasury of one of the richest monarchs in the world." But they could not at the same time fail to appreciate their employers' standpoint that indigo was "the prime or principall commoditie of all others." Prospects of obtaining cheap supplies were however remote. "The little which you will receive now," they add, "you will receive too much." 543 bales Biana had to be purchased at 61 rupees a mana, and in consequence, all the cash in hand was spent, and more had to be borrowed. The silver lining was however appearing. "Mezci Mulck" "subtilly foreseeing the ruine of our trade, which in the deadness of these tymes depending wholly upon indicoe and, that shut up from us under these hard conditions, wee could not continue long here, from whence must needs ensue the ruine also of his port at least,

3 I-R Ms XXIV. BMF Ms 2122, f 64, f 1, f 138, f 66, O.C., 831. BMF Ms 2123 ff 54, 70, 134, 141, 143, 142. I-R Java, III, pt 1, I-R Ms 1, O.C., 1169, 1180, 1291, Surat Factory outward letter book I, O.C., 1335, 1442. I-R Sut I, in Hague Transcripts I, IX, nos 305, 306 and 313, O.C. 1543A, 1518, 1519

if no worse events," approached the Imperial Government "for a totall enlargment or some such relaxation at least as might concerne us or the Dutch nation " A compromise suggested by the Central Government was however unacceptable to the English They again say in this letter that indigo was "the sole merchandize now remayning in these his (the Mughul's) dominions which wee could returne for our country, or that otherwise we might have leave to depart from hence, in prosecution of some more profitable designe "

To get out of the difficulty, negotiations were continued both with the Mughul and the Dutch, and neither of these parties, the English affirm, were easy to tackle "The king is so basely covetuous," they say, "that all appareance's of profit hoodwinkes him so much that he cannot see those inconveniences which goe hand in hand therewith " "They have no power," alleged the Dutch in their turn, "to consent unto such an obligation" (the renewl of the contract which had meanwhile expired). "If they (the Dutch) can perjudice us by any act of intervention, we know their affections and can guess at what they would willingly loose to weary us totally out of the whole trade "

That the Mughul was perturbed at the possible prospect of the English relinquishing Surat at that time is apparent from many records In a letter from the Mughul Governor of Surat (for example) the English were told that he believed that their "discontent in respect of the monopoly of indico" might prove to be the "greatest motive" in leaving Surat. The English President had gone away from Surat temporarily, because of his engagements at Goa The Mughul officer took it to be a permanent relinquishment, and according to the English records, entreated the President and others to come back

On 14th April, 1635, Surat at last definitely received the welcome information that the Mughul had thought fit to terminate the grant of a monopoly in indigo "The 14th of April, wee received the Kings firmaen, which assured us of the dissolution of the monopoly, but withall wee heard of no lower price than 50 or 48 rup per maen " But to thwart Dutch plans a quantity was bought by the English at Ahmadabad. "Wee had nor then nor since," says Surat, "any warrant to invest much mony in that comodity, yet somewhat wee did en order that might interrupt their proceedings, and by an appareance of buying more, wee put them upon the worst parcell of indigo that ever was made in Amadabad " The mutual competition

had of course a good deal to do with the then current high prices. But when Bālacanda impeded the English dealings in indigo, the two European nations drew together, and formed an agreement which prevented Asiatics from sending their indigo to Persia in Dutch or English vessels.

By the beginning of 1636, the English hope of making a profit to the exclusion of the Dutch through 'Tatha, alius Sinda' was rising. "Above all conveniences, transportation from Agra thither, soe much better chape, will bee a happie opportunity to weary, if not to weare out, the (Dutch) from giving those excessive prices for Agra indico, when wee shall in meere cartiadge save 5 rup per maen of that place." Then their broker Dhanaji, (according to Methwold's letter of April) bought indigo in Agra at prices ranging between 45 and 56 rupees. "Hee sauced the Hollanders" who were compelled to offer higher rates. But the action was unwise from the commercial point of view.

In September, (1636) Ahmadabad says, "Of this years indico 7,000 maunds is computed to bee of the finer sort that swims and the rest bannawe or coorse indico." This 'bannawe' or 'bunnah' may have some thing to do with bana (= jungle).

The Biana is still the prized variety, in 1638, and its dyeing capacity is about 50% superior to that of the cheap kind. The same year, the Company wants 600 churls (at about 14l a churl) to be sent by the Discovery. Robinson's letter of 26th December, tells us that indigo was abundant that year, and that the superior grade was even less than 20 rupees a mana. But Fremlen expected to supply the Company with 2,000 manas of Biana at 45 rupees (inclusive of transportation charges to Surat) etc. by the end of 1639. It became 70% dearer than Sarkhej.

Surat writes on 28th January 1640 that finding the prices likely to go up the English eager to steal a march over the Dutch bought from "Devegee Saw a wealthy Banian merchant," 661 bales "of the best sort, swimming indico" and 340 of an inferior kind which "doth not swimme, but burnes well, and is a sort that in these latter years hath bine fraequently sent you and not much disliked by you." The rates were cheap enough, 22 25 rs. (a mana) for the better, and 16 25 for the inferior variety.

An enclosure to a Basra letter of the same year says, "Every fardle contains 117 vaqueas, which is 3 munds, 23 seare, 6½ pice for which at present is offered but 56 ryalls. We meane Cirques indico, that of Agra at present is worth but 125 ryalls for the above specified fardle."

It was hoped by the very end of that year (1640) to send the expedition to Iran with a lading of indigo, sugar and cotton goods. The *Swan* and the *Mary* carried a supply to Europe, and 540 more bales could not be sent because no ship was available. The factors expected to sell these either in the Iranian or the Basra market. The 'Scinda' indigo laded on the *Swan* was thought to be better than the Sarkhej, though worse than the Biana. The opening up of a commerce with "Synda" in indigo, calicoes etc. is welcomed by the General Court, convened at Merchant Taylors' Hall, on 12th March, 1640, specially because of the probability that the Portuguese would keep the Dutch away from trading there.

457 bales of the best kind were sent by the *Crispiana*. The factors wanted to obtain 200 bales more of new Biana, but the rains damped their hopes. The English and the Dutch combined against the Indian seller, but could not force him to come to anything lower than '40 rupees that maund'. The Company was however selling Biana at 11s (a pound) in 1640, and "7s 6d per pound, at three six months time" in 1641.

In 1643 Ahmadabad 'makers' began "to frame indico of the green leaf, as in Agra, and so it becomes very pure and good, yet the price thereof is pitcht so high that we are resolved not yet to buy more than 100 ts of that making". George Tash at Ahmadabad was however requested to buy about 500 bales of "the last years round indico," a much cheaper commodity than what was produced from the green leaf.

The Company solid in its adamantine conservatism refused to admit any new fangled methods in the indigo business. In their letter of 27th November, 1643 to Surat, they point out that a "new fice or fabuque" was being given to Sarkhej. This was not to be tolerated by any means. The Dutch had passed off Sarkhej as Lahore, and there were complaints. "Wee therefore desire that old customes may be kept and the commodity appeare in its wonted forme." While arranging exports from Surat, indigo was to be a prime concern. But it was to be seen to that the merchandise was of good quality.

The European market was exceedingly weak in 1643. But early in 1644, 'Indicoe Agry' was procured by Surat at 33 rupees a maund and less. The satisfactory price led them to order a thousand bales of the Agra variety and two hundred Schwan. The demand for Schwan had however fallen off in 'Persia, Mocho yett Bussora alsoe,' and consequently the planters "doe annually more or lesse reduce the wonted quantities made

by them." It might not be possible for the Company's servants to procure it at all.

By the end of that year Swally says that want of rain and other causes (including heavy taxation) would decrease the supply at Agra for the coming year. Little Schwan indigo also could be procured by Spiller "The people are so exceedingly opprest (in those upper countries of Schwan or Seuestan and the adjacent places), and kept so miserably poor that, notwithstanding the soil is fertile and proper and would produce large quantities of good indicoes, they have neither will nor means to manure and sow the ground, so that the small quantity the country produced, not exceeding 400 maunds double (which is scarcely sufficient for the expence of those parts), rendered the commodity very dear, far beyond 40 rupees, the price we had limited. Yet were there no other buyers than the Tuttha dyers which paid 41½ rupees, besides 3 rupees per maund other charges." In 1646, the price declined to 4s per lb of Lahore and 3s 4d per lb of Sarkhej. Next year the supply price rose. No Agra could be had at less than 43.

By the beginning of October 1647, Ahmadabad complained that "rury" (flat as opposed to round) indigo as well as other varieties became scarce. "Before we have finished 250 (units) of the rury wee assure ourselves," they added, "wee shall not leave 100 maunds of that might be worth our owning unbought."

It was probably in a way fortunate that the market in Europe by this time became overstocked, and indigo was "in meane esteeme." The supplies from the East had to be duly restricted. But in spite of all difficulties, the instructions of the Second General Voyage to borrow money for purchasing goods for Europe were forestalled, and Breton bought 300 bales of Agra at 40.75 to 43.75 (rs) "the maund Eckbar," and asked the local factors to procure 100 bales more. If it was not available at Agra, the Ahmadabad and Surat markets were to be tried. "Of Ahmad round indico wee ate (however) very uncertaine whither any that is good, fitt for your occasions, wilbe procured." Indigo also is not to be sent to Basta, because the market there is "dull and dead."

This falling off of demand both in Europe and Asia together with the high prices in India naturally decreased the volume of business. The factors in India became despondent, and Breton hoped (by the beginning of 1649) that conditions would improve, because these 'wholly depend upon

the goodness of the commodity,' and that the supplies sent by the Eagle and those being sent at the time of writing would prove satisfactory.

In 1643 the Court records a sale of sixty barrels of flat at 4s. 6d on sight. By July, 1646, Lahore was sold to Richard Middleton at 4s. 4d. On 14th October the Court authorised the Governor to sell thirty barrels at nothing less than 4s. 6d. (per lb.).

We have already perceived that references are found in the documents of the period to the indigo obtained from the Coast, in which some imported from Ceylon might conceivably have lurked. To take a few more examples. On 7th October, 1642, the Court refers to Wednesday afternoon being set apart for selling silk, pepper, and indigo both Sarkhej and Coromandel. The same document which records this, refers to sale of rice, cinnamon, cardamom seed, sugar and pepper.

As Garwy and Saynthill were 'restrayned of their liberty,' they petitioned the Court to put their Coromandel indigo in its care. The Court refused their request on 2nd November of the same year.

In the General Court of Sales (of 1st March, 1643) the dust of Coromandel and Lahore indigo is referred to.

William Cary in employe in the William was accused of substituting an inferior quality of Coromandel indigo which would not fetch even 1s. 8d. a lb. for better indigo, in the Company's warehouse. By April, 1644, the Company threatened Cary with dismissal if the charge was proved against him. On 8th September, 1644 Ivv. Greenhill and Travell from Fort St. George informed the Company that they had sent some indigo by the Swan. They had procured it locally at 24 pagodas a candy.

Next year Coromandel as well as 'flat' are on a list of the General Court of Sales. The same year, we find some 'Coromande' being imported into England by Francis Day on his own account. In 1646, Messrs Martin and Gould promised to get the opinion of their dyers on the efficacy of Coromandel. Towards the close of that year flat Coromandel was bought by John Brett at 1s. 6d. at six months' sight.

Again in January, 1647, flat indigo of the Coast was sold by the Company along with other merchandise.

Shortly afterwards, the Company was offered some Coromandel indigo by James Martin. They however decided not to buy it, because of its extremely poor quality. Five days later, it is recorded that a quantity of Coromandel was sold to Penning Alston from the Company's own stock.

Dust of this indigo, cardamoms, rice, Malabar pepper, calicoes etc. was sold again on 3rd September.

In another Swally letter of 31st January, 1649, "the despicable rates (indigo) bears in England," and the consequent small purchases in India are again referred to. Absence of rain, it points out, raised the price, and depreciated the quality of the available indigo. By the end of that year Lahore was sold to Brett at 5s 3d and Sarkhej at 4s. 3d. at six months sight. Regarding the weights and measures used in purchasing indigo at that time, Breton says "20 pice, by which indico is constantly bought, (make) a seare, whereof the fardle of Agra ought to contain 6 maunds 6 seare nett of 40 seare to the maund" Ahmadabad indigo was sold in the East by other standards "Of this indico, the fardle of rowind ought to weigh six and the flat 4 maunds exactly, of the prementioned maund of 40 seare, it haveing bin soe reduced in time of the Princes government in Ahmada" By the beginning of next year, President Merry observes that the price in England was still abnormally low, while the Agra price was not cheaper than 40 rupces a mana, though the quality had fallen off. On 13th February, the Company asked Surat to despatch a further supply of indigo, calicoes, saltpetre etc by the Aleppo Merchant and the Love.

By the end of October, Merry notices that 'this year there hath very little raine fallen in all parts of India, and since the middle of July little or none' Hence the prospects of a good supply of indigo were not at all hopeful. Not even a twentieth of the previous year's produce was expected. In January, 1651, Merry says that the Company however did not want a large supply. By the middle of October 1651, the market was so bad, that it was decided that seventy-seven barrels of Sarkhej and Sinda and sixty of Lahore should be sold by the candle, Sarkhej at 3s 8d, and Lahore at 4s 6d. Ten barrels of each kind were to make a lot. But it was hoped that the depression would lift, because it seemed 'likelv wee may have peace with the Portugalls'. An offer of 4s was however refused for some indigo on 13th November though one of 4s 6d. was accepted on the 19th.

Though the crop was plentiful in 1656, and on one occasion, the factors "did not in the leest doubt of supplying you (the Company) with 100 fardles of extraordinary good Surquiz indico", supply was difficult, because the Indian authorities were displeased with the English. The Three Brothers however succeeded in taking a lading of piece-goods, indigo

etc. on 22nd November of that year. A lading of pepper was to be sent by the *Mayflower*.

The President in 1658 refers to a purchase of new indigo. Next year indigo (though only of the superior variety) was to receive a place among the 1,000 tons of various exports including cotton goods, cotton yarn, cardamoms, coffee and pepper.

In 1659, the English price for Lahore was 3s 10d to 4s. 1d. and Sarkhej 2s to 2s 1d. A letter from the Company which was received by Surat in 1660/1661 says that heavy stocks of indigo had accumulated in England, because of "the large quantities which the former years came from you and that addition which on (some other) ships is now returned" and the price had fallen "so low that it is not worth the bringing home, the Agra by your invoice being rated at about 26d per lb, and the Amadabad at about 12½d. The Agra will not yield here above 3s. and 2d per pound, and the Amadabad not above 20d per pound." The student who would like to work out the Company's profits on these data, will have to take into account the charges for 'freight, customs' etc. which rendered the ultimate 'cost price' a heavy one. "Wee, now being glutted with that commodity, doe require that you buy none, unlesse you can have it delivered you at the Mareene, the Agra at 16d and the Cirqueaze at 8d per lb."

Sales of Lahore and Sarkhej indigo in Europe are however referred to in a good few records of 1660 and 1661. The list of the General Court of Sales of 1st August, 1660 includes Sarkhej indigo-shirts, pepper, cardamoms, coho (coffee) seed and indigo. The coffee was disposed of at 7l 11s a cwt. That of 10th October mentions among other commodities, indigo, ginger, pepper, sugar, cinnamon, coffeeberries, redwood, indigo-shirts, and cardamoms. Bludworth and Spencer became security for Lahore in 1661. On 20th March of the same year, a sale of indigo, coffee, berries, indigo shirts and Malabar pepper is recorded.¹

J. C. DA.

¹ O.C., 1543A, 1543B, 1552, B.M.E.M. 2086, f. 120, l. 118, O.C., 1558, Letter Bks I, O.C., 1655, 1720, 1725, 1758, 1740, 1764, Ct Bk XVII, O.C., 1808, F.R. Mis XII, O.C., 1858, 1885, 1901, 2031, F.R. Sur cm, cmA, O.C., 2026, (Duplicate) 2147, 2078, O.C., 2114, Ct Bk XVIII to XX, XXIII, O.C., 2179, 2204, 2216, 2228, 2359, CM and FF volumes, Ct Bk XXIV etc.

MISCELANY

Where was Serajuddowla captured ?

The *Tirtha-mangala*¹ contains the following lines:—

সেইদিন সকলিগলি মোকাম হউল ।

প্রভাতে উঠিয়া মাজী নৌকা বাহি দিল ॥ ২১৬

গঙ্গাপ্রসাদ তেলাগাড়ি বামেতে থাকিল ।

বায়ুবেগে নৌকাগণ চলিতে লাগিল ॥ ২১৭

যথা হৈতে নবাবেবে ধখা লয়া ছিল ।

সেই ফকিরের বাটী বামেতে থাকিল ॥ ২১৮

“We halted at Sakrigali for that day. Rising next morning the ‘manjhi’ set the boat to motion. With the speed of the wind all the boats moved leaving Gangaprasad, Telagarhi and the house of the Fakir on the left wherefrom was the Nawab captured.”

The Nawab, referred to in the above passage, is Serajuddowla. Tradition goes that Seraj was handed over to the English by his host Dansah Fakir who had once been maltreated by him. The above passage confirms the tradition to the extent that Seraj was taken captive from a Fakir's house. If we travel on a boat up the Ganges from Rajmahal towards Bhagalpur we will have to sail past Sakrigali, Gangaprasad and Telagarhi even to this day. Sakrigali has a railway station in Sahibganj Loop, E. I. Ry. and stands on the bank of the Ganges. Telagarhi is well-known.² There is still a place called Gangaprasad in between Telagarhi and Sahibganj. According to the account of the book the travellers then passed by the villages Lakshimpur, Srampur etc. before they reached the famous Patharghata which the historians identify with the Vikramasila university. So we can safely conclude that Nawab Serajuddowla was taken captive from a place somewhere between Telagarhi and Lakshimpur.

This text, as the author himself tells us in lines 1123, was completed in the month of Bhadra of the Bengali year 1177 = 1769-1770 A.D. i.e. within fourteen years after the battle of Plassey. So we can take the statement as almost contemporary and more reliable than those of *Riaz-us-salatim*.

¹ Sahitya Parishad Publication no. 47

² *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, pp. 786-98. Also *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1940, 105-117.

or *Mutaqherin*. The information found herein regarding the place of Seraj's capture is merely a casual reference made by the author. Hence it may be regarded as genuine information gathered at the very place of occurrence at a time when the memory was green. The book records the travel by boats by Maharaja Krishna Chandra Ghoshal whom the poet accompanied. Sri Kandarpa Ghoshal and Gokul Ghoshal, father and brother of the Maharaja, had great influence in the court of the English. The Ghoshal family helped them in their gradual stabilisation of power. The travel of Maharaja Krishna Chandra Ghoshal, which is the subject-matter of the book *Tistha-mangala*, had some political character. The poet says —

এক কাজে তিন কাজ,
কব্ধ নৌকাব সাজ—১২

12 "arrange the boats. This travel will serve three purposes at a time." Of the three purposes one was to come into closer contact with the influential men of different places of Bengal, Bihar and U.P. and thus to create opinions in favour of the English. So, if we take the historical aspect of the travel we can trust the statements as reliable.

So long the accepted views of the historians have been that Seraj was captured at or somewhere near Rajmahal. Orme writes that Seraj went upto Rajmahal and there he was captured. It happened on the banks of the Kulindi, opines the *Riaz*. Late Akshay Maitreya, the celebrated author of *Serajuddowla* (in Bengali), argues on the line and thinks that the Nawab sailed over the Mahananda and the Kalindi. According to Stewart it happened on his arrival opposite Rajmahal. Seraj was captured somewhere near Rajmahal, says the author of *Twarikh-i-mansuri*. The expression 'somewhere near' is too vague. A discussion of the probable route traversed by the Nawab may unfold the truth. The vanquished Nawab saw no hopes of recovery at Murshidabad and then thought of Mons. Law, the only ray of hope in the dark horizon. With the declaration of war he had sent a letter to Mons. Law (who, according to previous arrangement, was asked to wait with his party at Bhagalpur for such emergencies) to come to his assistance with the utmost expedition. According to *Mutaqherin* there was some delay on the part of Raja Ramnaram, the governor of Patna and a faithful ally of the Nawab, in sanctioning monetary help and as a result Mons. Law could not start in time. Meanwhile the Nawab proceeded towards Bihar to meet Law for help. His route lay over Rajmahal, be it by

land or the Ganges. But Rajmahal was his danger zone because the place was under Ma Daud, a brother and ally of Mir Jafar. So, for his safe bid for Bihar and Mons. Law, Seraj had to secure a quick passage over Rajmahal. Mir Daud and Mir Quasim had been behind Seraj and they had just begun to pursue him by the order of the new Nawab, Mir Jafar. Some, as we have seen, are of opinion that Seraj tried to proceed to Bihar *via* the Mahananda and the Kalindi i.e. by river routes other than the Ganges. This reads strange as it amounts to giving the enemy sufficient time to reach and guard Rajmahal and the news of his defeat and retreat to spread. The route they suggest could in no way carry Seraj beyond Rajmahal. The Nawab would on the other hand suffer by missing Mons. Law whom he expected on the way. So it was more natural for Seraj to take the shorter and quicker route to Bihar up the Ganges than the round-about one to no purpose.

Seraj managed to pass over Rajmahal, Sakrigali, Gangaprasad and Telagarhi while Mir Daud was chasing him. But, as ill luck would have it, he could not go further. Perhaps he thought himself safe having passed the danger zone of Rajmahal and halted for a short repast at a Fakir's abode on the bank of the Ganges. The Fakir however betrayed him. The Fakir's abode, which the *Tirtha-mangala* identifies with the place of the capture of Seraj, must be the ruined one now seen on a small hillock called Khomas between the railway stations of Mirzachowki and Pirpointy or the one at Pirpointy lying on the bank of the Ganges. I would like to point out that this place is not far from Rajmahal and is midway between Rajmahal and Bhagalpur, where Mons. Law was asked to wait on the eve of the Nawab's quarrel with the English and which was within three hours' journey by boat.

SARIT SEKHAR MAJUMDAR

Designation of Hell in the R̥gveda and the Meaning of the word 'Asat'

In a recent article,¹ Prof. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania attempts to point out what the definite name was by means of which the Vedic people designated the place of punishment for the wicked after death. It is suggested that *Asat* was the name by which this place

¹ Norman Brown, "The R̥gvedic Equivalent for Hell," *JAOS*, (June 1941) vol. LXI, pp. 76-80.

was called, and that it was meant not for the ordinary sinner whose punishment ended with being bound by Varuṇa's fetters or with incurring the displeasure of the gods, but for those actively anti-divine creatures like the *Rākṣasas*, the *Yātudhānas* or the *Kimīdins* who conspire against the sacrifice, injure the pious and defraud them of the fruit of their good deeds. We are asked to believe that the ordered universe is contrasted in the *R̥gveda Saṃhitā* with the place of hell, and the difference between the two is similar to that between *Aditi* and *Nirrti*, between life and death, between the created, ordered and lighted world and the uncreated, unordered and unilluminated place of dissolution, the latter is called *Asat* as contrasted with the former which goes by the name of *Sat*. The gods fashioned the orderly universe from the primordial chaos which is no other than *Asat*, the disordered world of demons. The famous *Nāsadiya* hymn (*RV*. X 129) has to be construed in this light, and the Vedic story of the fight between *Indra* and *Vṛtra* is no more than an allegorical explanation of the process of the creation of this world. It is true that *Asat* which thus means *hell* in the *R̥gveda* does not mean so later on. The reason for this is that, in the conception of *Asat* and *Sat*, the philosophers found a dualism which they "resolved into a monism that comprised the undifferentiated primordial chaos". Often this was left unnamed, but when this was named it was called *Asat* or *Skambha* or *Brahman*. "This last term finally prevailed, and as it prevailed it signified an idea vastly different from that of the dreaded *R̥gvedic Asat*. Thinkers, having reflected upon hell, passed beyond it, and in passing beyond it turned their back upon heaven as well, to find their goal at last in the infinite *Brahman* which transcends both, whether the good or the evil."

Now, the word *Asat* occurs 60 times² in all in the *R̥gveda* in its different forms, and it is a fact worthy of note that neither orthodox tradition nor western interpretation has ever given the word hitherto the sense of *Hell*.

Of the 32 occurrences of *Asat*, Sāyana understands it 9 times in the sense of 'is' (*astī* or *bhavati*), 2 times in the sense of 'was' (*āsīt*), 15 times

2 In *RV*. II 26 1, the word occurs as part of the compound *Abhyasat*, the forms *āsan* and *asan* occur 7 times and twice respectively, but even these two words are nowhere understood in any of their occurrences to mean any sort of *location*, either by the traditional commentators or by western interpreters of the *Veda*.

in the sense of 'should be or might be' (*bhavatu*, *bhavet* or *syāt*), 3 times in the sense of 'untruth' (*asatyam*), and once each in the senses of 'inauspicious' (*aśubham*), 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛtam*), and 'indescribable' (*nirupākhyam*).

Of the 15 occurrences of the form *Asat*, 6 times it means 'is' (*asti*), two times 'was' (*āsīt* or *abbavat*), 3 times 'let it be' (*bhavatu*), and once each in the senses of 'will be' (*bhaviṣyati*), 'might be' (*bhavet*), 'goes or reaches' (*gacchati*, *prāpnoti*), and 'fruitful' (*phalasādhanaśamarthaḥ*).

The form *Asataḥ* occurs thrice, and once each the word means 'of the villain' (*dustasya*), 'of the demon' (*rāksasasya*) and 'of the not yet existing Brahman' (*asātsamānāt brahmanah*).

The form *Asati* occurs 7 times, 4 times it means 'is' (*asti* or *bhavati*), and once each it means 'let it be' (*astu*), 'colourless Ether' (*nūṇe antarikṣe*), and 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛte*).

The forms *Asatā*, *Asati* and *Asatyah* occur once each and mean 'misery' (*duḥkheṇa*), 'is' (*bhavati*) and 'untruthful' (*vācīkasatyarahitāḥ*).

Leaving aside the verbal usages which are of no use here, Sāyana's meanings³ to the word are, therefore, 'inauspicious', 'unnameable', 'unmanifest', 'untruth', 'misery', 'fruitful', 'to go or reach', 'villain', 'demon' and 'ether'.

Roth and Bohtlingk⁴ seem to accept only three of the meanings given to the word by Sāyana viz., 'unnameable or indescribable', 'unmanifest'

3 Yāska supports Sāyana in so far as the first of these meanings is concerned, the forms *āsat* and *asan* occur once each in the *Nūkṛta* (V 19 & IV 19 respectively) and mean respectively 'will be' (*bhavati*) and 'may be' (*syuh*) as interpreted by Yāska. The word does not occur in the *Nighaṇṭu*. That Sāyana also follows the tradition laid down by his predecessors in the field of Vedic interpretation may be inferred from the fact that commentators on the Veda like Skandavāmin, Udgitha, Venkatamādhava and Mādhava, who lived long before him, interpret the word *Asat* exactly as Sāyana does in the several contexts in which it occurs. Excepting the case of Venkatamādhava's commentary a complete Ms of which is available (*Adyar Library Ms*, No xxxviii, D 15), the rest are available only in fragments in their printed form. Hence of the several occurrences of the word *Asat*, Skandavāmin's interpretation is available only for RV. I, 9 5, 107 1, 14 1. Udgitha's gloss for RV X 5 7, 10 11, 27 1, 29 2, and Mādhava's commentary for RV I 9 5, 57 2 (See *R̥gvedābhāṣya* of Skandavāmin (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No 8), edited by Dr C Kunhan Raja, *R̥gveda* with the commentary of Udgitha-Ācārya (Dayananda College Sanskrit Series, No 15), edited by Viśvabandhu Sastri, *R̥gvedavyākhyā Mādhavakṛtā*, edited by Dr C Kunhan Raja (Adyar Library, 1939).

4 *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, I 547

and 'untruth'. They give the following meanings to the word: (1) *nicht seiend* (not existing), *nicht vorhanden* (not present), *keine realitat habend* (having no reality), (2) *wie es nicht ist oder sein sollte, seiner Bestimmung nicht entsprechend*, *unwahr, unrecht, schlecht* (as it is not or should not be, having any clear ascertainment, untrue, unjust, bad), (3) *nichtseiendes* (non-existing), *nichtsein* (non-existence), (4) *unwahrheit* (untruth), *Lüge* (lie). The same is the case with Grassmann⁵ who, understanding the word both as an adjective and as a noun, gives the following meanings (1) *nicht seiend* (2) *unwahr, unheilsam* (3) *das Nichtseiende* (4) *unwahrheit, lüge*.

To Wallis,⁶ the word has only two meanings, when coupled with *vācas*, it obviously means 'false', and otherwise it always means 'not yet existing' which are the same as the 'untruthful' (*vācikasatyarabitāh*) and the 'unmanifest' (*avyākṛta*) of Sāyana. His reasoning in support of his view runs: 'The word *Asat* is used in the *R̥gveda* in two senses, as an adjective with *vācas* 'speech', and as the converse of *sāt*. In the first case the meaning is clear, it is equivalent to *asatyā*, the unreal or the false, the converse of that which is really the fact. When used with *sāt* it occurs invariably in passages of a cosmogonic character, *sāt* is said to be born from *ásat*, that is, translated into modern idiom, *ásat* precedes *sāt*, or *ásat* becomes *sāt*, we are told that India made *ásat* into *sāt* in a trice, or *ásat* and *sāt* are mentioned as in our hymn (X. 129) as belonging to the first creation. Where the two words are coupled together by a conjunction, *ásat* always precedes *sāt*. The *ásat* must therefore have had in itself the potentiality of existence, it is not merely the 'non-existent', but may almost be translated the 'not yet existing', as *bhāvat* is elsewhere opposed to *sāt*, *jāyamānam* to *jātām*, and *bhāvya* to *bhūtām*. It is not colourless as our word 'nothing', it is the negation of *sāt*. Thus the whole meaning expressed by these dark words is nothing more than the process of becoming, the beginning of development or creation."

It is indeed in *RV*, VII. 104 = *AV*, 4 that we get an almost complete picture of what we might call the "hell" of the Vedic people. We read here of a serpent-infested hovel, cold, dark and silent, which is situated down below, where there is neither the Sun nor any other kind of light and which is a veritable place of complete annihilation. Indra, Soma

5 *Wörterbuch zum R̥gveda*, p. 153.

6 *Cosmology of the R̥gveda*, pp. 61ff.

and Agni are requested by their devotees to consign to this horrid place the entire legion of their enemies, whether they be the *Rākṣasas* or the *Yānu-dhānas*, the *Mūradevas* or the *Kimīdins*. There is no indication in this hymn or anywhere else in the *R̥gveda* that this place is the natural abode of these enemies of the Vedic poets.⁷ Moreover, the so-called anti-divine creatures denominated diversely by the Vedic seers by such terms as the *Dasyus*, *Rākṣasas*, *Sisnadevas*, and *Mūradevas*⁸ are no more than the aboriginal inhabitants who lived side by side with the Vedic people, without observing the religious rites and sacrifices performed by them, and it is only out of full devotion to his gods that the Vedic seer invoked them to punish all these neighbours who were of a separate belief and who did not observe his rituals.⁹ Nor is there any warrant for the statement that the "ordinary mortals who have offended in some inadvertent manner hardly are in danger of it (hell)."¹⁰ The following verses¹¹ bear ample testimony to the fact that both the ordinary sinner as well as the 'demon' met with the same punishment

इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वज्रे अन्तरनारम्भणे तर्मासि प्र वि-यतम् ।

यथा नातः पुनरेकश्च नोदयत् तद्द्वामस्तु सहसे मन्युमच्छुबः ॥

यो मा पाकेन मनमा चरन्तमभिचष्टे अमृतेभिर्वैचोभिः ।

आप इव काशिना संशुभीता असवस्त्वासत इन्द्र वक्त्रा ॥

न वा उ सोमो वृजिनं हिनोति न क्षत्रियं मिथुया धारयन्तम् ।

हन्ति रक्षो हन्त्यामद् वदन्तमुभाविन्द्रस्य प्रसितौ शयाते ॥

7 Norman Brown, *op cit* pp 78f

8 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp 155-157, Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p 150 n, Keith, *JRAS*, (1911), p 1002 n, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II 382. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV 407 ff, Grassmann, *op cit* p 1053. Sāyana seems to consider the *Mūradevas* to be a sort of wild tribe regaling in murder (*māranakridāh*), but Roth and Bohtlingk (*op cit*, V 851) seem to consider them as a 'species of goblin' (*gewisser unholde*)

9 Barth, *Religions of India*, p 33

10 Norman Brown, *op cit*, p 78

11 *R̥V*, VII, 104 3, 8, 13 and 14

यदि बा॒ह्म॒नृ॒तदे॒व आ॒स मो॒षं वा दे॒वा अप्य॑दे॒ अग्ने॑ ।

कि॒मस्मि॑न् जा॒तवे॒दो ह॒स्त्रीषे॑ द्रो॒घवा॒चस्ते नि॒मृ॒यं स॒चन्ता॑म् ॥

In the first verse Indra and Soma are requested to plunge the evil-doers (*duṣkṛtaḥ*) into the depth which is pitch dark, so that none of them can ever come out, and thus see that their wrathful might prevails and conquers them. The term *duṣkṛt* here may not necessarily denote only a demon, but means only any evil-doer (*Uebelthater*)¹² The remaining three are imprecations on 'speakers of untruth' (*asadvācaḥ, droghavācaḥ*),¹³ and do not definitely specify any group of wrong-doers, in the first of these verses, Vasiṣṭha curses in anger that the utterer of falsehood who unjustly accuses him who follows the right path only, may, even like water compressed by the hollowed hand, perish, and the slanderer mentioned here need not necessarily be a demon. The next verse says that Soma supports neither the crooked-minded nor one who poses as a ksatriya, but slays instead both the former fiend and the latter utterer of falsehood, both these culprits are also said to be entangled in the noose of Indra. Granting that the other verses indirectly at least refer to the villainy of demons, this verse clearly speaks of two kinds of offenders, the demon as well as the utterer of falsehood who must belong to the Vedic clan alone, and both of whom suffer the same penalty. In the last verse Vasiṣṭha is chafed at the displeasure of Jātavedas towards him for no offence on his part, and points out that Agni's anger towards him is unjustified for he worshipped neither false gods (*anṛtadevāḥ*) nor accused the gods as being sham and that destruction should fall only on those who utter lies (*droghavācaḥ*). This last statement of Vasiṣṭha should prove that the punishment spoken of repeatedly in this hymn is meant not for any particular class of people, but for all those who go against moral law, by uttering untruth, for instance

In Vedic India, gambling, uttering falsehood, stealing, seduction, adultery, sorcery and witchcraft¹⁴ were considered sinful. From the re-

-- Grassmann, *Rgveda*, I 380

13 Grassmann (*Ibid.*, p. 381) renders these words by *Lugner*, and *Lugenredner* respectively

14 RV X. 34; I 152 1, 42 3, X 34 4, II 29 1; VII. 104 24, 15,

peated emphasis laid on following ancient tradition¹⁵ (*purveṣām pañbhāḥ*) it is possible to infer that neglect of this duty was also considered criminal. But sin also meant to the Vedic seer not worshipping the customary gods (*adevayuh*), being averse to prayer (*brahmadvisah*), being irreligious and offering no oblations and no prayer (*avratāḥ*, *apauratāḥ*, *akarmakṛt*), and the sinner was always punished irrespective of the race to which he belonged. True that the *Dasyus*, the *Rāksasas*, the *Śisnadevas* and the like were always sinners according to the above definition, but this fact does not preclude the possibility of the existence¹⁶ of sceptics even among the Vedic people who were condemned by the orthodox as vehemently as were the aboriginal neighbours who fall outside their clan. It is these sceptics that should have been designated by such names as *adevayuh*, *brahmadvisah*, *avratāḥ*, *apauratāḥ*, *asunvataḥ*, *arātayah*, *apīnataḥ*, *āsasah*¹⁷ and then condemned in measureless terms. The aboriginal group should have been composed of the *Dasyus*, *Mūradevas*, *Rāksasas*, *Asuras*, *Śisnadevas*, *Kimīdins*¹⁸ and the like.

In the hymn under consideration, it is only *three* verses that contain the word *Asat* and rightly understood, not one of these can prove that *Asat* means a location or the name of a location as we are asked to understand¹⁹. Two of these verses²⁰ have already been commented upon, but

15 *RV* X 14 15, 130 7. I am indebted to my revered professor, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, for this suggestion.

16 That such a set of people existed in Vedic times is well-known. The *Nirukta* of Yāska (I 15 ff) mentions the instance of *Kaṁsa* who, not content with questioning the authority of the Vedas, puts forth many an interesting argument to prove that they are meaningless and that their study is hence futile. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* which contains several passages in it (I 2 18 and 19) where attempt is made to show the superiority of the *RV* over the other three Vedas may also be regarded as an attempt in the same direction (see my paper, "The Atharvaveda and the Nyāyamañjarī of Jayantabhaṭṭa", *Indian Culture*, IV 369 ff). For an excellent treatment of this subject see *Introduction to the Nighantū and the Nirukta* by Lakshman Sarup, pp. 71 ff.

17 To the same category belongs the *akarmān*, *anric*, *anindra*, *anyavratā*, *apauratā*, *abrahman*, *ayaṣvan*, *ayayyu* (cf. Muir, *op cit.*, IV 410).

18 Śāyana takes this word to mean a carper or calumniator who is ever ready to pick holes (*Kimīdānim ita carate piśunāya*), but Roth and Bohtlingk (*op cit.*, II 287) and Grassmann (*op cit.*, p. 325) take the word to mean 'a class of evil spirit'. So does Griffith (*R̥gveda*, II. 98 n).

19 Norman Brown, *op cit.*, p. 79.

20 *RV* VII 104 8, 3.

the following verse²¹ where *Asat* means 'untruth may be considered now

मु॒वि॒द्वानं॑ चि॒कितु॑ये जनाय॒ सचा॑स॒च वच॑सी पस्पृ॒षाते॑ ।

स॒यो॒र्यत् स॒त्यं य॒तर॑र॒जो॒यस्त॑दित॒ सोमो॑ऽव॒नि ह॒न्याम॑त् ॥

This verse, according to Sāyana, means that to a thoughtful man it is easy to understand that truth and falsity are opposites, Soma verily favours only that which is true and more right, but smites the untrue (*Asat*). The explanation of this verse given by Grassmann,²² Whitney,²³ and Griffith²⁴ are in the main identical with this interpretation of Sāyana which is quite acceptable. In the face of all this one feels that it is to give too far-fetched an interpretation to think that the above verse means as follows:

"There is a clear distinction for a man clever (in religion). True (*sat* = existent) and untrue (*asat* = non-existent) charms conflict. The true one, the stronger, just the one Soma favours. He destroys the untrue."²⁵

The too well-known cosmogonic hymn in the *RV* (X 129) is most naturally understood as speaking of the birth of the world from the primordial chaos which defies all attempts at description; it would only be to read one's own prepossessed ideas into this hymn to imagine that it narrates the re-fashioning of this improvised world from what was originally the disordered den of demons.

With the rejection of the view that *Asat* means *Hell* in the *Veda*, the need to explain how the word changed its meaning later is also obviated. That the Upanisadic *Brahman* has its antecedent in the *Sarabhitās*²⁶ is an indisputable proposition. It is not by such fanciful hypotheses as the probable unification of *Sat* with *Asat* which was often unnamed and sometimes named, that this is satisfactorily proved. It is only in the philosophic portions of the *Sarabhitās* and the *Bṛāhmanas*, in the pantheistic and monotheistic hymns and passages in these texts, in the conception therein of *Brahman* and *Prāpātī* of *Puruṣa* and *Skandha* of *Hanyagarbha* and

21 VII 104 12

22 *Rgveda* I 381

23 *Atharvaveda* p 488

24 *Rgveda* II 99

25 Norman Brown, *op cit* p 77

26 See my "Meaning of Brahman and Ātman in the Rgveda" in course of publication in the *Indian Culture*, "Soul in Rgveda" in *Review of Philosophy and Religion* (vol XI, p 51 ff)

Viśvakarman that we have to seek for the real antecedents of the *Brahman* of the Upanisads.

The R̥gvedic hell must still remain unnamed, though we know of its existence by such descriptions of it as that it is situated down below, that it is dark and cold, and that the sun never shines there

H G NARAHARI

The *Guṇapatākā*

In vol. XVII of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Mr. P K Gode has a note on the work called *Guṇapatākā*. He records five references to the work and suggests that the work was earlier than 1200 A D

The interesting work *Guṇapatākā* caught my attention as early as 1933, when I noted down the following references to and quotations from it:—

1 Daksināvētanātha quotes from it in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*, T.S.S. edn. LXIV, p. 63

यथा गुणपताकायाम्—

वियोगे चायोगे प्रियजनसदृशानुगमनं
ततश्चिन्तालोकः(क.) स्वप्नसमये दर्शनमपि ।
तद्वस्त्रसृष्टानामुपगतवनां स्पर्शनमिति
प्रतीकारः कामव्यधितमनसां कोऽपि मदितः ॥

2 This same verse is quoted also by Pūṇasarasvatī in his commentary on the *Mālatīmādhava*, Madras Ms. R. 3071 pp. 44-45

वियोगे सदृशानुगमनं
ततश्चिन्तालोकः
... ..
... .. ॥ इति गुणपताकोक्तेः ।

3 More important than these two references or those recorded by Mr. Gode are those made to this work in that well-known Kāma Śāstra work *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka. The *Guṇapatākā* is one of the source-books for Kokkoka, even as Vātsyāyana's work, and Kokkoka accepts the treatment of some topics as found in the *Guṇapatākā*. There are three such references to the *Guṇapatākā* in the *Ratirahasya*

- (a) *Ratirabasya*, p. 35, Kasi edn ch 4. śls. 3-4.

उक्तं गुणपताकायामवस्थायु क्रिया च या ।

तामपि न्यायसंवित्सिद्धत्वादाद्वियामहे ॥

बाला ताम्बूल माला ०— ॥

(the verse quoted, as noted by Mr Gode, by Nārāyanadīkṣita on *Vāsavadattā*, and Harihara and Jagaddhara on *Mālatīmādhava*)

- (b) *ibid*, p 37 ch 4 śl 7

यत्प्रकृतीनां लक्षणमभिहितमधिकं च गुणपताकायाम् ।

तच्चाप्यनुभवसिद्धं स्फुटतरमभिधीयते किमपि ॥

स्निग्धनखनयनदशना ०— ॥

- (c) *ibid*, p. 44. ch 4. śl 25.

उक्तं गुणपताकायामनुरागेर्ज्ञितं च यत् ।

अज्ञातज्ञातभोगाना तत्साधारणमुच्यते ॥

ओघ्राग्रं स्फुरतीक्ष्णं विचलतः ०— ॥

The commentary of Kāñcīnātha says in all these three places गुणपताकाख्यशास्त्रे, गुणपताकाख्यशास्त्रे, गुणपताकायां शास्त्रे and the characterisation of the work as Śāstra may be taken as showing that the work is an old, authoritative, source-book.

Except in the case of the verse बाला ताम्बूलमाला ०—reference No. 1, we are not able to be quite sure whether Kokkoka is quoting (in the two other cases) the verses in *Gunapatākā* or is only reproducing the ideas in *Gunapatākā* in his own words.

Regarding the nature of the work *Gunapatākā*, it is pretty clear that it is a Kāmasāstra treatise. It is likely, as can be made out by a passage cited by Mr Gode in a foot-note (No 1), that the work takes its name after the lady Gunapataka to whose queries the book is addressed in the form of answers by Mūladeva, the Nāgaraka, *par excellence*, of ancient India.

And regarding its date. Mr Gode shows that it must be earlier than A.D. 1200. In the Sanskrit Introduction to the Kasi edition of the *Ratirabasya*, it has been pointed out that *Ratirabasya* III 8 रत्नजाः कुमारः ०— is found quoted in the *Jayamangalā* (NS Press, private edn 1900 p 78). I have shown in my thesis on Bhoja's *Śrīgāra Prakāśa* that Bhoja uses the *Jayamangalā*, therefore *Gunpatākā* must be considerably earlier than Bhoja (c 1010-1062 A.D.)

Bharata Mallika and his Patron

Bharata Mallika, the celebrated scholiast of Bengal, who can justly claim to be the Mallinātha of our province, was a most prolific writer of treatises commentaries and tracts. As early as 1828 A.D. his famous commentary on the *Bhāṭṭikāvya* was published along with the *Jayamangalī*¹ and his commentary on the *Amarakosa* was substantially reproduced in the *Sabdalakṣpadrūpa*. He had consequently earned an all-Bengal reputation, though belonging to the *Mugdbabodha* school of restricted provenance. His well-merited reputation has, however, considerably suffered in recent years for his allegiance to a non-Pāṇinian school of grammar.

His Works

His works may be divided into two classes viz. commentaries and independent treatises. Besides the *Bhāṭṭikāvya* he wrote popular glosses on all the five classical epics whose manuscript copies, mostly fragmentary, are available in the Ms. libraries of Bengal.

(1) The commentary on the *Bhāṭṭikāvya* is significantly named the '*Mugdbabodhini*' and is undoubtedly the best commentary on the book in the whole of India. His lucid explanations on all connected topics, grammatical, rhetorical, textual and exegetical display an all-round scholarship. It is a pity that the students of Pāṇini even in Bengal do not appreciate the merits of one of the best scholiasts that the province can boast of. He is largely indebted in this work to another great scholar of Bengal Pundarikāśa Vidyāsāgara of the Kūṭāpa school.²

(2) The common name of the rest of his commentaries seems to be '*Subodha*', that on the *Kuṃṇasambhava* extends up to the 7th canto. According to Bharata this epic originally consisted of 16 cantos, the first eight of which were lost by chance, while the 8th one was cursed by Pārvatī Herself!³ Thus,

तस्य शेषाष्टमर्गस्य मन्त्रागोष्ठमुत्र देवतः ।

पाठोऽष्टमस्य सर्गस्य देवीशपान्न विद्यते ॥³

1. Edition in 2 vols. Education Committee, Calcutta. 1828 A.D. Jivānandas several editions of the *Bhāṭṭikāvya* as well as Gurunātha's editions completely published Bharata's comm.

2. *Vule Sāhitya Pansat Patrikā* vol. XLVII, pp. 152-53. Bharata rarely refers in this work to his predecessors by name, but Vidyāsāgara has been cited by name several times e.g. on X. 23, 66, 73, XI. 4, 42, XII. 57, 78 &c.

3. *Dis. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Sans. Coll. Calcutta, vol. VI (Kāvya) pp. 16-17.

This commentary is concise and short.

(3) For the comm. on the *Raghuvamśa* vide Eggeling *I O Cat* p 1415

(4) on the *Knāta*, vide *ibid*, p 1429.

(5) on the *Śisupālavadha*, vide Eggeling, *op cit*, p 1432 This is an exhaustive commentary full of references to a large number of previous commentators. According to Bharata the poet Māgha was a king (माघनामा नृप). In a fragment we examined in Calcutta (extending up to the 2nd canto) there are quotations from the following commentators : Dandapāni (fol 5b & 18a), Dhṛtikata (29a) Dhṛtidāsa (6a, 30b), Padmanābha (5a), Baladāsa (6b 15a) Bhagīratha (18b), Bhavadatta (often) Madhusūdana (8b) and Vallabha (often) But the most interesting of all are two rare references to Mallinatha and Rāyamukuta, which are reproduced below —

(i) (on verse II 16) सर्वङ्कुयायां वदनेति पाठः, स तु.. (अ)मूलो वर्णव्रमोऽन्य-
दीकाङ्कद्विरव्याख्यातत्वात् प्राचीनबहुपुस्तकेष्वदृश्यत्वात् । (fol 38b)

(ii) (on verse II 20) वामितं सुरमोकृते इति धरणिस्तदभिप्रायेण वाम. मौरन्यमिति
बृहस्पतिमित्रः । (fol 39b)

It is likely that Bharata was borrowing without acknowledgement from a previous Bengali commentator Candraśekhara who was equally rich in quotations :

(6) Bharata is a scholar who reached his peak by successfully tackling the crux of Indian commentators viz Śūbhūṣa's *Nauvadhā*. A part (cantos I-III) is now available in print fully keeping up his reputation though, unlike his *Magha-tīkā* he refrains here from naming his numerous predecessors :

(7-10) Bharata also commented on the popular lyrics of his times.

4 Sans Ms No 774 of the Vingiya Sahitya Pansad, Calcutta

5 Vide Eggeling *I O Cat* pp 1433-34 Candraśekhara flourished *circa* 1500 AD being a son of Viṣṇu Pandita one of the teachers of Caitanyadeva. Candraśekhara's brother Mahādeva wrote a commentary on the *Anargharāghava* in 1494 AD (*Sahitya Pansat Patrikā*, vol XLVII, pp 243-53)

6 Ed with thicc comm of Nārāyaṇa, Bharata and Vamśivadana by Nitya-svarūpa Brahmachāri, Calcutta, 1326 BE pp 232 The Ms preserved in the Sans Coll, Calcutta (*Des Cat* VI, p 39) goes up to Canto X (fol 306)

four of which have so far been discovered viz glosses on the *Meghadūta*, *Ghatakarpara*, *Nalodaya* and the *Gītāgovinda* ⁷

(11) Bharata's reputation in the indigenous schools rests, however, on the *Mugdhabodhinī*, commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*, where his scholarship in grammar and lexicography is displayed at its best. It is undoubtedly the best and the largest etymological work in the *Mugdhabodha* school and is full of references to previous authors and works. It begins —⁸

नत्वेऽं कुरुतेऽम्बयः गौराज्ञमल्लिकात्मजः । टीकाममरकोषस्य भरतो मुग्धबोधनीम् ॥

यः पाणिनीयादिभिरक्त टीकाः कृता महद्भिर्बहुभिर्महत्सु ।

ताभिः प्रहृष्यन्ति न मौग्धबोधास्तेषां नियोगेन ममोद्यमोऽयं ॥

and ends —

इति नानाग्रन्थदृष्ट्या मुग्धबोधानुसारतः । सामान्यकारणैः व्याख्यानं चक्रे भरतमल्लिकः ॥

इति हरिहरस्नानस्यान्वयवायप्रसृतो मुरहरपदसेवासकृद्गौराज्ञजातः ।

अमरविहितकोषं मुग्धबोधानुसाराद् व्यवृत्त भरतसेनः पूर्वटीकादिदृष्ट्या ॥

Among the predecessors frequently cited by him the latest names are those of Vidvāvinoda, Rāmānātha and Nayanānanda. An edition of the book is a long-felt want, though it has been thoroughly utilised in the *Sabdakalpadruma*.

Among his original works there are two genealogical treatises, the *Candraprabhā* and the *Ratnaprabhā* both available in print. The former, a close print of 450 pages of Sanskrit verses,⁹ is a monument of industry, where a bewildering mass of details has been collected and recorded about every single Vaidya family of rank in Bengal including the author's own family. It was written when the author was in the company of his own grandchildren named in the book (p. 32). He wrote about his own works thus. —

वैशानामाज्ञया योऽयं कुरुते कुलपञ्जिकाम् ।

चकार चापरान् ग्रन्थान् द्रुतबोधादिकान् बहून् ॥

From this it would appear that the first book he wrote and probably the best in his own opinion was the *Drutabodha*, an independent Sanskrit grammar consisting of metrical Sūtras, explained by himself in a long com-

7 For *Meghadūtā*, vide Eggeling *I O*, p. 1422. On the *Nalodaya*, *ib* p. 1425. A fragment on Jayadeva in the library of the Vaidya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta (Sans. Ms. No. 39) L. 3172 for gloss on *Ghatakarpara*.

8 From a complete Ms. dated 1705 Śaka belonging to the present writer.

9 Ed. by Kaviraja Binodlal Sen, Calcutta, 1299 B.S.

mentary called the *Drutabodhinī*¹⁰ Two medical works, *Ratnakaumudī* and *Sārakaumudī*, are also ascribed to him showing that he did not neglect his own profession by caste. The rest of his works so far discovered are very small but useful treatises in verse on different grammatical topics meant evidently for memorising viz.

- (i) *Ekavarṇārtha-saṃgraha* on monosyllabic homonyms.¹¹
- (ii) *Dvitrūpadbhvaṇi-saṃgraha* on multi-form words
- (iii) *Upasargavyūṭṭi* on the prepositions.
- (iv) *Sukhalekhana* on orthography
- (v) *Kārikollāsa*

The last named book, which has been published,¹² probably forms part of a bigger work as its name signifies. We examined recently an old copy, dated 1635 Śaka, which begins as follows —

हरिनामामृते नान्नि कारकं परिशिष्यते ।

कारकं स्यात् क्रियामूलं क्रिया धात्वर्थ उच्यते ॥

The colophon runs —¹³

इति श्रीभरतसेनकृतौ हरिनामामृते व्याकरणे कारकोल्लासः समाप्तः । (fol 9^o)

His Date

There is great confusion among scholars regarding his date which, however, can now be fixed correctly. Colebrooke¹⁴ believed that he flourished in the middle of the 18th century A.D., so also R. L. Mitra. On the other hand R. Śarmā (p. xx Inti, *Kalpadrukosa* vol. I) wrongly stated that Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa in his commentary on the *Kavikalpadruma* written in 1561 Śaka (1639 A.D.) cited from Bharata's *Amaratīkā*. This is entirely due to an oversight, the reference being to an edition of the *Kavikalpadruma* with Durgādāsa's commentary (Calcutta, 1897), where the editor Śivanārāyaṇa Śiromani enriched the commentary with supplementary notes, added within brackets, from Bharata and other writers. Durgādāsa as a matter of fact never cited from Bharata in any of his works

10 *Vide Des Cat., of Sansk Mss., ASB., Pt I (Grammar), 1877, p. 21*

11 (i) Printed in the *Vidyodaya* for 1888, pp 9-14 (ii) *vide I O Cat., pp 295* For (iii) *Des Cat., Sans Coll Calcutta, vol VIII, pp 99-101* For (iv) L 568

12 *Ed Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, No 8*

13 Ms belonging to Pandit Yatindranātha Tarkatīrtha of Navadvīpa

14 *Kosa* by Umra Singh, 1807 Preface, p vi According to Mitra 'his age is about 1750 A.D.' (*Des Cat., ASB., Pt I, 1877, p. 239*)

The printed edition of Bharata's *Candraprabhā* ends with the following statement — (p. 450).

शुभमस्तु शक्राब्दाः १५६७, गरतमल्लिकस्य स्वहस्तलिखितपुस्तकसमाप्तिः ।

This gives us a clear date (1675 AD) for one of his works, but as the original manuscript is not available for examination some doubt may be entertained about its genuineness. But the *Candraprabhā* contains several clues for determining its approximate date. Let us refer to one Kavicandra Datta, a celebrated Vaidya scholar of Bengal, wrote the *Cikitsāratnāvalī* in 1583 Śaka (1661 AD) is the following verse would show —¹⁵

गङ्गातरङ्गलसद्विहङ्गयुद्धरत्नम्फुरत्नतनुजिनमञ्जुकुञ्ज ।

दीर्घाङ्गनामनगरे ऋतगुम्फनोऽयं ग्रन्थः कृशानुवसुवागशशङ्कशाके ॥

This Kavicandra of Dīghāṅga or modern Digging near Vidyavati on the Ganges is incidentally mentioned in the *Candraprabhā* —

रामेश्वर स्वदैवेन दत्तवंशमुव. सुताम् ।

कविचन्द्रस्य जग्राह दिग्गङ्गेऽपत्यवञ्चितः ॥ (p. 40)

The *Candraprabhā* stops in this section with the mention of the sons of Rāmeśvara's younger brother one of whom Raghava appears to have married a daughter of Kavicandra's son Kaviśālabha —

राघवो दत्तदीयङ्ग-कविवल्लभजापतिः ।

Kavicandra is also mentioned on p. 296 —

रामजीवनदासोऽयं दैवादीयङ्गवासिनः ।

कविचन्द्रस्य दत्तस्य कन्यकां परिणीतवान् ॥

and here also the section ends with the mention of a brother's son. There is no doubt therefore, that Bharata was a true contemporary of Kavicandra and the date of his work *Candraprabhā* (1675 AD) appears to be quite correct.

A Ms. copy of Bharata's *Upasargavṛtti* has been described as being dated in '907 Śaka' (that is, Bengali 1112) corresponding to 1500 AD.¹⁶ There is absolutely no doubt that the date is wrong whether it refers to the Bengali era or even the Mallābda. This is a notable instance of how a careless recording of a date may be responsible for unsound speculations among scholars.

15 Eggeling *IO Cat* p. 958

16 *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss., Sans. Coll., Calcutta*, vol. VIII p. 101

According to the editor of the *Kāraṅkollāsa* (pp. 3-4) Bharata wrote the *Amarakosa-ṭīkā* in 1703 A.D. (i.e. 28 years after the *Candraprabhā* which itself was written at an advanced age) on the strength of the following verse, 'composed by Bharata himself,' found in a manuscript —

शर-युगल-रसेकस्यातशाके षटेने निजतनयसुखार्थं पाठकानां सुतृप्तये ।

व्यरचि भरतसेनेनेति या कोषटीका लिपिमलमत सेयं लिङ्गसंग्राहक्ये ॥

This, however, is not a record of the date of composition but of the copy. An older copy dated 1622 Saka exists in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹⁷ In fact Bharata wrote this commentary exactly in 1599 Saka (1678 A.D.), as the following statement is found at the end of the *Manusya-vaṅga* in a copy —¹⁸ (fol. 20b)

०मुग्धबोबिन्ध्या नृवर्गविवरणं समाप्तं ॥

ग्रन्थकारस्य शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १५९९/१५९९/१५९९ ॥

A Ms. copy of Bharata's *Drutabodha* has been discovered dated 1581 Saka (1659 A.D.) this is the earliest copy of his works so far discovered and was undoubtedly written in his lifetime. The colophon is given below —¹⁹

प्रकार्गपादः ॥ हरिहरखानकुलेन्दुवंधो गौराङ्गमल्लिकः ख्यातः (१)

तस्य तनूद्भव गतकर्के भरतो नृपाज्ञातः ॥

इति मद्रव-गौराङ्गमल्लिकात्मज-भ्रा-(भर)तसेनविरचितं द्रुतबोधव्याकरणं समाप्तं ।

शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १५८१ ॥ श्रीसहदेवदामस्य पुस्तकमिदं (fol. 90b)

The period of Bharata's literary activity may now be correctly fixed between 1650 and 1680 A.D.

His Patron

We have seen above that Bharata wrote the *Drutabodha* at the request of his patron who was a 'king'. The *Raghubatikā* was also written at royal request (भृवन्निदेशात् IO p. 1415). At the end of the commentary on the *Meghadūta* we read —

इति हरिहरखानख्यातवंशारविन्द-शुभशिखिमलकर्त्तिनात-गौराङ्गजानः ।

प्रियगुणिगणभूरिश्रेष्ठभूपालशिष्ये-रकृत भरतसेनो मेघदूतस्य टीकाम् ॥

(IO p. 1422)

17 *Des Cat of Sans Mss.*, RASB, vol VI, p. 307

18 Belonging to the present writer, the date of the copy is 1705 S.

19 Sans Ms No 881 of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. There are marginal notes probably from the *Drutabodhini*, on fol. 24a there is a note —

जीवोप्याह तत्रेकस्यामेव क्रियायामीप्सिततममनीप्सितत्वेति कथं द्वयं स्यात्.....।

Bharata describes himself in the *Candraprabhā* as —

भूरिश्रेष्ठमहोपालसमापण्डितविश्रुतः । (p. 32)

The *Māghatikā* was, moreover, written for the benefit of the royal prince then under pupillage —

यद्यपि टीकामस्य प्रज्ञा बहवो गरीयसी चक्रुः ।

तदपि पठन्तुपुत्रप्रीत्य स्पष्टमिमां कुर्वे ॥ (IO p 1432)

Who was this king of Bhūriśreṣṭha who patronised this great scholar? A very curious mistake, due to a printer's devil or a scribe's prank, has gained currency among scholars that the name of this king was Kalyāṇanalla, son of Gajamalla. According to R. I. Mitra, Bharata's commentary (*Drutabodhinī*) on his own *Drutabodha* contained the following verses at the beginning —

पद्मबन्धुकुलाम्भोधिशीताशुर्लोकविश्रुतः ।

वैलोक्यचन्द्र इत्यासीत् कर्पूर ऋत्विजेश्वरः ॥

तन्पुत्रोऽसि पराभूतवैरस्तीमण्डनस्पृह ।

मर्ध्वलक्ष्मणसंयुक्तो गजमल्लो महायशः ॥

तस्य कल्याणमम्रोऽस्ति नन्दनो बुद्धिसागरः ।

तेनेयं द्रुतबोधस्य टीकाक्रियत बोधिनी ॥²⁰

All the above verses excepting the last line really belong to a commentary named *Mālātī* on the *Meghadūta* by Kalyāṇanalla.²¹ A careless scribe must have blundered from one manuscript to another neatly transferring a work of Bharata upon the shoulders of a royal author outside Bengal. No princes of the solar line ever reigned anywhere in Bengal late in the 17th century A D.

Bharata mentioned the name of his patron in the *Candraprabhā* as follows —(p. 27)

इति प्रजाधीश्वरधीरवीर प्रतापनारायणसत्सदस्यः ।

श्रीकृष्णखानस्य जगत्प्रसिद्धा वंशावलीं श्रीभरतो जगद् ॥

The name of this Rājā Pratāpanārāyaṇa is now almost forgotten, though he was a most illustrious prince of his times. Bhāratacandra Rāya, the celebrated poet of Bengal, belonged to a junior branch of the same family also mentioned the name of Pratāpanārāyaṇa in one of his poems —

भूरिशिष्ट राज्यवासी नाना काव्य-अभिलाषी

ये वंशे प्रतापनारायण । (*Rasamañjarī*)

²⁰ *Des Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, ASB Pt. I (Grammar), 1877, p. 21 & p. cxv.

²¹ *Vide Eggeling IO Cat.*, p. 1423. Also Mitra *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, vol. VII, p. 149 No. 2383.

Bhūrisrestha or the Bhursut *pargana* is now scattered in the three districts of Howrah, Hughly and Burdwan. It was acquired by Rājā Kīrticandra (1702-40 A.D.) of Burdwan from the hands of Pratāpanārāyaṇa's grandson, after which the family passed into obscurity. Pratāpanārāyaṇa's ancestor 'Rājā Kṛṣṇa Rāya' (belonging to a branch of the 'Mukherji' family of Rādhīya Brahmins) first got possession of the kingdom about 1500 A.D., so that the family ruled for more than 200 years. According to popular legends in the locality a queen of this family fought successfully and saved the kingdom from the hands of the conquering Mahomedans, earning the title of 'Rāya-vāghinī'. A Bengali poet Rāmadāsa Ādaka, author of the *Anādimangala* written in 1584 Śaka (1662 A.D.), mentions Rājā Pratāpanārāyaṇa as the reigning monarch and the next chief Rājā Naranārāyaṇa was ruling in 1092 B.E. (1685 A.D.)²² This is in perfect agreement with the date of Bhārata fixed by us above.

Bharata belonged to the village 'Pindira' (in the Hughly district), as stated by Ward (*The Hindus*, 1822 Ed. London, vol. II, p. 485) and by Gopālakṛṣṇa Rāya in the *अम्बुसम्बादिका* (1256 B.E., p. 68) —

एवन्तत्कुलसम्भूतो भिषग् भरतमल्लिकः ।

पिटङ्गा-ग्रामनिवासी स शास्त्रज्ञः पण्डितः सुधीः ॥

Against this the current tradition of his present descendants (Inti to the *Kāraṅkollāsa* &c.) cannot be accepted.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Śrī Śaṅkara in Cambodia ?

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Indian Review* (February, 1940) and Mr K. A. Nilakantha Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research* (vol. XI, pts. 3-4) have expressed the view that on the authority of a Kambuja inscription mentioning the installation of the god Bhadrēśvara by Śiva Soma, we must assign Śaṅkara to about 800 A.D., because Śiva Soma, in the 39th verse of the inscription, is said to have learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat

²² Vide *Rāya-vāghinī*, a semi-historical work in Bengali by Bidhu Bhusana Bhattacharyya, p. 159. The *Anādimangala* has been published by the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta. We have attempted to give a short history of the Bhursut family in the *Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā*, vol. 48, No. 4, pp. 189-200.

Saṃkara himself (*Bhagavat Saṃkarābhayaī*) Śiva Soma was the grandson of Jayendrādhipativarman, the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II of Kambuja, and the *guru* of Indravarman I (878-887 A.D.)

The inference that this Bhagavat Saṃkara is no other than Ādi Saṃkara seems to be unwarranted. I have shown elsewhere¹ that Saṃkara lived towards the close of the sixth and in the beginning of the seventh century, as the contemporary of a number of Jaina, Buddha, Naiyāyika, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsaka, Vaiyākaraṇa authors and in any case cannot be later than Śāntiraksita and Bhīvaḥḥari (c. 720 A.D.) We should therefore be very careful before making a sweeping assertion assigning Saṃkara to a date a century later.

In the history of Kambuja, the eighth century was a period of anarchy, Jayavarman III who had the posthumous name Parameśvara came to the throne in 787 A.D. His *Sdog Kak Thom* inscription says that the Parameśvara (Java II) came from Java to reign in Indrapura. He and his family *purohita* Śivakaivalya successively established themselves at Kandavāra Homa, Hariharālaya, and Amarendrapuri. This Śivakaivalya was ignorant of Śaiva Tantras and therefore learnt the Vināśika, Nayottara, Sammoha and Śiraccheda and the ritual of Jagattarāja (Bhadreśvara-Deva Rāja imported from Campā), from a Brāhmaṇa Devarāja who had come from India (*janapada*). Another inscription of Ś. 815 (= 893 A.D.) of Muni Śiva Śakti refers to the muni's ancestor whose brother and sister were Viṣṇu Vala and Prāṇā Kambuja Lakṣmī. The latter was the queen of Jayavarman II in about Ś. 724 (= 802 A.D.) when the king founded Mihendra Parvata.

Jayavarman III Viṣṇuloka, a nephew of Śivakaivalya, seems to have ruled from 854 to 877 A.D. His successor Indravarman I belonged to a new dynasty in matrimonial relationship with the previous dynasties. His posthumous name was Īśvaraloka and he ruled from 877 to 889 A.D. His Baku inscription of Ś. 801 (= 879 A.D.) refers to the installation of three images of Śiva with consorts dedicated to Prthivīndreśvara, Parameśvara, Rudreśvara, Prthivīndra Devī and Dhavanīndra Devī.

¹ *The Age of Saṃkara*. VIII Oriental Conference, Mysore, *Sources of Kārnātaka History*, vol. I University of Mysore, *Advaitācāryas of 12th and 13th Centuries* Winternitz Commemoration Volume *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938. *QJMS* April, 1930. *Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, vol. 12, 1931.

Indra I died in 889 A.D. His son Yaśovardhana became Yaśovarman I and began a glorious period of Kambuja history. He is the builder of the famous Angkor Thom (Yaśodhanapura or Kambupura) and his conquests extended far and wide. Pāśupata Śaivism in Kambuja attained its climax.

We are concerned now with two inscriptions of his time mentioning Śiva Soma. The Sdog Kak Thom inscription (*BEFEO*, XV, no. 2, p. 89) says that Yaśovarman's teacher in his boyhood was Vāma Śiva, the disciple of Śiva Soma, the *guru* of Indra I. The Phnom Sandak Inscription (*ISCC*, p. 336) of § 817 (= 895 A.D.) begins with an invocation to the Trimūrtis, Gauṛī and Sarasvatī (Śiva, Rudra, Dhūrjati, Varāha, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Gauṛī, Sarasvatī). In stanza 18, it is said that during his reign (Yaśovarman's?) an eminent *muni* Soma Śiva was like an ocean of learning in the Śāstras. His disciple was the worshipper of Śrī Indravarmēśvara. The sea of Śiva Sastra was churned by his Mandara like mud. He consecrated Śrī Bhadrēśvara in § 817 (= 895 A.D.).

Thus we have the following synchronism —

<i>King</i>	<i>Purohita</i>
Jayavarman II (878-854)	Śivakaivalya (brought the cult of Bhadrēśvara—Deva Rāja (Jagattarāja) from Bhadravogā, in the Vijaya of Indrapura)
Jayavarman III (854-877)	Sukṣma bhadra, the nephew of Śivakaivalya
Indravarma I (877-889)	Śiva Soma
Yaśovarman (889-910)	Vāma Śiva, disciple of Śiva Soma, consecrated Bhadrēśvara in 895 A.D. Priest of Indravarmēśvara (Tolk. Inscription)

Yaśovarman consecrated two Śivalingas Indravarmēśvara (in the name of his father) and Mahāpatūśvara (his maternal grand-father) and the goddesses Indradevī (his mother) and Rājendradevī (his maternal grand-mother). He brought Jagattarāja from Hariharālaya to Kambupuri (Angkor Thom), erected the central mount Yaśodhanagiri, and the high priest was Vāma Śiva, the pontiff of Śivāśrama who consecrated the image. This grand monument may have been begun by Śiva Soma at Bayon (*Śivāśrama*) in the time of Indravarma I and Vāma Śiva in the time of Yaśovarman planned the subsequent developments. Whether Bayon was originally a Buddhist

shrine dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, as Finot asserts, is a matter of controversy. But in the 9th century it became the centre of Pāśupata Śaivism. Yaśovarman made elaborate regulations for worship. Only Māheśvara should officiate as priests of Indravarmeśvara. In the *āśrama*, the king, Brāhmanas, and after them Śaivācāryas and Pāśupatācāryas should have precedence. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava ascetics should be honoured especially if they were versed, in Vyākaraṇa. A Sugatāśrama was established but the Buddha Ācārya was considered inferior to a learned Brāhmaṇa.

These regulations remind us of the Kālamukha centres in Kārnātaka-Belgāmi, Hūli, Śrīśaila etc. The Kālamukha university town at Belgāmbi, the Gōlakīmātha in Āndhra and Tamil countries possessed enormous power and the Ācāryas were men of great learning giving instruction in the Vedas, Darśanas, Gāṇinī etc., maintaining *arogyāśālās* (hospitals) and *prasūtikārogyāśālās* (maternity hospitals), giving sanctuary to refugees and feeding people without distinctions, though Kālamukhas (Māheśvara, Mahāvratī, Pāśupata, Lākula etc. being their designations) were ardent Śaivas, yet they protected *catuṣsamayas* (of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha and Jina). The surnames of these Ācāryas were Śiva, Śakti, Sambhu, Ābhairava, jīva, vratī, muni etc. The inscriptions in Kārnātaka mention Vāma Śiva, Soma Śiva, Kedāra Śakti, Śrīkantha Sambhu, Viśveśvara Śiva, Lokābharata and a host of others. The *Śaiva tantras* taught to Śiva Kaivalya, the *Vināśika*, *Nayottara Sammoha* and *Śiraccheda* have all been traced by B. R. Chatterji. The *Śiraccheda* belongs to *Jayadratha Yāmala*. The *Naya* and *Uttara* are parts of the *Niśvāsataṭṭva Sambhita*. The *Vināśika* is a supplement to *Jayadratha*. In the *Brahma Yāmala* the *Nayottara*, *Sammoha* and *Śiraccheda* are assigned to the *Vāmasrotā*. Whether these tantric texts were imported from Bengal or Kārnātaka is uncertain. The connection with Kārnātaka seems to be indicated by the mention of Śrī Satyāśraya, a minister of Yaśovarman well-versed in Astrology (*bhōra śāstra*) like Satyācārya. This minister established Mādhava (a Viṣṇu image) as Trailokyanātha in 910 A.D. The name Satyāśraya is the same as that of Iriva Bedanga Satyāśraya, the son of Tailapa II the Cālukya emperor of Kalyāṇi, who overthrew the Rāstrakūṭas in 973 A.D. It was also the title of the earlier Cālukya emperors.

The evidence adduced above shows that Śaivism of Kambuja was not Advaitism of Saṃkara whom scholars even now persist in calling him a Śaiva. No doubt Śrī Saṃkara removed all the tantric practices from the

Sanmatas (Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Kaumāra, Gaṇāpatya and Śākta) and he would never have countenanced a tantric worship of Śiva according to *Jayadratha Yāmala* etc. The name Śiva Soma seems but a transposition of Soma Śiva since his disciple Vāma Śiva had the same surname Śiva. There is no doubt that they are Kālāmukha Pāśupatas, and not Advaitins. Though the Kālāmukhas were also versed in Vedānta, their conception of the Supreme Being was entirely different. The first clear mention of Vedānta as such seems to have been in the time of Jayavarma V whose inscription of S. 890 establishing an *āśrama* mentions Vedāntins, Smṛtis, Yoga, Vedas and Vedāṅgas. However flattering to our pride in Śrī Śaṅkara it may be, to be told that his influence extended almost in his own lifetime to the lands beyond the seas, the chronological and doctrinal anachronisms cannot be overcome and the identification of Bhagavata Śaṅkara, the *guru* of Śiva Soma, with Ādi Śaṅkara should be rejected.

S. SRIKANTHA SASIRI

REVIEWS

IRANIAN AND INDIAN ANALOGUES OF THE LEGEND OF THE HOLY GRAIL by Sir J. C. Coyajee Bombay 90 pp.

The Grail legend, in its different forms, is one of the most elusive but fascinating studies in the realm of folklore and mythology. Scholars have attempted to track it down to its source, and on the evidence of parallelisms have ascribed its origin to Greek mythology, to the Eleusinian mysteries, to the cults of Samothrace and Cete. There have also been occasional admissions of the fact that the idea of the Grail or Royal glory was probably not European in its origin, but was common to the Aryan races and as such its earlier manifestations should be sought in the rich mass of allegorical stories of ancient India and of Iran. It is these two sources that the author analyses in this neatly printed volume. The Iranian folklore, as embodied in the *Avesta*, the *Yashts*, and the *Shah-nāma*, afford the closest analogy to the Arthurian Cycle of the Grail romance and explain many hitherto unintelligible features and incidents. The idea of Royal Glory or Hvorno possessed by Kalkhusrau survived down to the medieval period in Iran when it was known as *Farr-i-Izadi* the divine light, and has been one of the cardinal features of Iranian tradition. Analogous conceptions are found in Indian mythology also. There are striking and significant resemblances to the Arthurian Romance and also to the Iranian Saga in the story of the elemental war between the Devas and Asuras for the possession of the four-fold symbol of worldly blessings *Sri*, *Varth*, *Cow* and *Amrita*. The association of water with the great Secret is common to all forms of the story. Other points of similarity are also noticeable, but as Sir Jahangir suggests, the monistic tendency of the Indian mind was unable to accept the war between Good and Evil (*Deva* and *Asura*) as a cardinal reality, whereas in Iran, the belief in the eternal rivalry of the two forces led to its development into a cult, centred on the god *Mithra*. It became a quest for the symbol of power (*Hvorno* or *Grail*) pursued by the two forces personified by the Iranian *Kalkhusrau* and Turanian *Afrasiyab*. Through the agency of the Roman empire the idea found its way to Europe where according to the author, Mithraism for a long time enjoyed a dominant position.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sunthakar with the co-operation of other scholars. Fasciculus 11—*Āraṇyakaparvan* (1). Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941.

We accord our hearty welcome to the first fasciculus of the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the monumental edition of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken and systematically pushed forward by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona. The fasciculus comprises the first 154 *adhyayas* or about half of the *parvan*. It is edited by Dr. Sukhthankar himself. The edition is based on a collation of 28 manuscripts representing different recensions and versions. Several other manuscripts, not mentioned in the critical apparatus, are also stated to have been consulted wholly or in part and variants from them are recorded from time to time (47, 146). A manuscript of the Bengali version dated 1261 A.D. is perhaps the oldest Ms. consulted.

The edition could not profit by a comparison of Devabodha's Commentary and the Javanese version of the present section, as they are not available. But fortunately there were fewer textual difficulties in the *parvan* to be solved with their help. 'The text of the *Āraṇyaka*', in the words of the learned editor, 'is, relatively speaking, remarkably smooth.' As a result of the critical analysis of the text and the collation of the mss. several passages occurring in the vulgate have been omitted in the edition. Of these special mention may be made of the sections dealing with Arjuna's temptation by Urvāṣī (chapters 45-6 of the Bombay edition) and the killing of Naraka and the rescue of the earth by Viṣṇu (chapter 142 of the Bombay edition). These and other long omissions will be given in the form of an appendix in the concluding fasciculus of the *parvan* while minor omissions of lines and couplets are recorded in footnotes.

CHINTAJARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY by Dr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta, pp. 458 with 10 plates.

The standard work on the subject was for a long time *The Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T. A. G. Rao. Various other works had appeared since the publication of that book but their scope being limited the value of Mr. Rao's work remained undiminished. Mr. Rao however had paid greater attention to the ancient texts on iconography and did not do full

justice to the archaeological side of the subject. Hence a comprehensive book co-ordinating the results obtained from the study of ancient iconographical texts as well as archaeology was a desideratum. Dr. Banerjea is to be congratulated for having fulfilled it.

The book contains eight chapters. Study of Hindu Iconography, Antiquity of image worship in India, Origin and development of image worship in India, Brahmanical divinities and their emblems on early Indian coins, Deities and their emblems on early Indian seals, Iconoplastic art in India, Iconographic terminology and Canons of Iconometry. Appendix A contains a number of important notes relating to the image worship and Appendix B contains a critical edition of a valuable iconographic text—the *Pratimāmānalakṣaṇam*, brought from Nepal, an extract from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* on Hindu iconography and tables of measurement from the texts. Appendix C contains a table of measurements of some mediæval images.

In regard to the antiquity of image worship in India Dr. Banerjea has discussed all the important theories of previous writers, drawn attention to their short-comings and has given his considered opinion that there was no image-worship in the early Vedic religion. In other chapters he has clearly shown how Indian coins and seals can materially help us to ascertain the early iconographic types of Hindu divinities and their emblems. In the treatment of this subject he has introduced altogether new materials previously neglected. While dealing with the Indian canons of iconometry he has not overlooked the importance of a comparison of these canons with other canons. His discussion of the Iconographic terminology is as thorough as possible in the present state of our knowledge.

In short, this work is the outcome of years of careful study of Indian Archaeology and Iconographic literature. Every page bears the stamp of his erudition and reveals the great critical acumen of the author. It may be however pointed out that although the treatment of the subject under various heads is a continuous one the book has the appearance of a collection of articles. But this appearance of disconnectedness does not detract the value of the contribution and interfere with our following the development of the theme in each chapter in an uninterrupted way. A chapter on the evaluation of the iconographical data collected by him from the viewpoint of art would have probably increased the value of the book. This probably will be treated by the author in the forthcoming volumes which

have been promised and which we hope will not be long delayed. The author has placed all students of Indian art under a deep debt of obligation and has made a valuable contribution to our store of knowledge.

P. C. BAGCHI

INDIA AND THE PACIFIC WORLD by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M A., D.Litt, published by the Book Company Ltd, Calcutta, with a Foreword by Mr Ramananda Chatterji, pp 294

Dr Nag is without doubt one of the most widely travelled Professors and has seen things with his own eyes in both the hemispheres. He is thus in a far better position than many of us to compare things which are of interest to the present day India. With a certain amount of justification he introduces his book to the public in the following words "The Pacific ocean in our early school days was made to appear too far away to have any relations with India and too vague and vast for seeking human relationship. Books of geography were mostly manufactured in the countries bordering on the Atlantic and therefore we find in them a pardonable exaggeration of the importance of the Atlantic civilisation. What was unpardonable however was the indifference and ignorance, betrayed by the general group of writers, regarding the history of the Pacific countries and their cultures." Such considerations have led Dr Nag to remove a want which he himself has keenly felt like all of us.

He has dealt with almost all the important countries in and around the Pacific viz Polynesia, the Maori land, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia, the Thailand Indo-China, Java and Sumatra, China and Japan. He has surveyed the civilisation of all these countries, in all its important aspects. Pre-history, Anthropology, Archaeology and modern history. He has given in each of these branches a complete account of the important works done, the materials available for further studies and has appraised in a popular style the part played by the peoples of all these countries from the pre-historic ages up to the most recent times. He has specially drawn our attention to the part played by India in the dissemination of the higher forms of culture in those lands. He deals with things ancient as an able student of history and pre-history, and presents before us the things modern with the sympathy of Pierre Loti. This sympathy has at times instilled in him an amount of enthusiasm for the future which sometimes surpasses

reasonable limits, but that does not in any way take away the value of the book. The author is to be warmly congratulated for this valuable production.

P. C. BAGCHI

VARNA-RATNĀKARA OF JYOTIRĪSVARA-KAVIŚEKHARĀ-CĀRYA edited with English and Maithilī Introductions and *Index Verborum* by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M A, D Litt, F R A S B and Babua Misra, *Iyantisā-ūrtha* and *Jyotirīśācārya*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1940, pages Royal Octavo lxiv + 8 + 266 (*Bibliotheca Indica* no 262)

It is a great pity that Maithilī, the language of over ten millions of people in Bihar, with a long culture behind it and boasting of at least one great poet, Vidyapati, whose position is of the first rank in Indian literature, is regarded in its own home-land as a rustic speech, Hindustani (High Hindī or Urdū) alone being recognised as the vernacular of the land in the schools and law courts. But in spite of this neglect to Maithilī by its native speakers this language with its wealth of literature (be it due to only one great writer) did not fail to claim the patronage of the University of Calcutta as early as 1919. Thanks to the efforts of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee the study of Maithilī along with other Modern Indo-Aryan languages was included in the syllabus of the M A examination. This fact may be said to lead to the publication of Jyotirīśvara's *Varnaratnākara* the earliest extant work in Maithilī. Information of its existence in a unique MS was given by the late Min Haraprasad Sāstrī as early as 1901. Since then this work has several times been referred to by scholars including Min Haraprasad and Prof. Chatterji. But it was not before 1923 that the plan of a regular edition of the *Varnaratnākara* was taken in hand by Prof. Chatterji. As the MS of the work in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society was not complete, a second text and a complete one was felt to be imperatively necessary for editing the work properly. But attempts in this direction not being successful during the years that elapsed since then the Asiatic Society MS continues to be the unique MS and only source of this valuable work.

The author of the *Varnaratnākara*, Jyotirīśvara Ṭhakkura, is quite a well known figure in the late medieval Skt literature. He is also the author of at least two Skt works the *Dhūrta-samāgama*, a *prahasana* and the

Pañcasāyaka a work on erotics. Besides these another work on erotics (*Rangasāekhara*) has also been ascribed to him (*JASB*, 1915, p. 414 footnote).

From the prologue of the *Dhūrtasamāgama* we learn that Jyotirīśvara's father was Dhīreśvara and his grandfather was Rāmeśvara, that he was a high court official of the king Harasimhadeva of Mithilā who flourished in the first quarter of the 14th century. Lassen's view that Jyotirīśvara belonged to the 15th-16th centuries and was the court-poet of a Vijayanagara king, is no longer tenable, though Prof. A. B. Keith has unfortunately stuck to it in his *Sanskrit Drama*, (1924), even after the late Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti gave us authentic information about the date and personality of Jyotirīśvara (*JASB*, 1915, p. 411).

The subject-matter of the *Varnaratnākara* is very curious. It was composed probably for the *Kathakas* or public reciters of Puranic and Epic stories. In course of narration reciters embellished their stories by means of gorgeous descriptions. For example in describing a city they are to mention its bazars, suburbs, gates, walls, houses, buildings, temples, citizens etc. and besides this, in describing important objects chains of similes were heaped on them to impress the audience. The *Varnaratnākara* is a handbook furnishing a catalogue of objects necessary to be enumerated in various descriptions as well as apt similes needed to glorify some of important items.

The habit of the *Kathakas* might have been derived ultimately from the Jains who in their canonical prose often use descriptive *clichés* called *Varnakas*. It is possible, though earlier scholars seem to have overlooked the fact, that the ornate Sanskrit prose writer in the *Gandī rīti* had his cue from the Jain canons. As both these flourished in Eastern India a possibility of their generic connexion may not be easily set aside.

In Pāli works too *Varnakas* are met with, but they are not so plentiful as in Jain canons.

The *V R* is divided into eight *kallolas* which are as follows

(1) *nagara-varnana*, (2) *nāyikā-va*°, (3) *āsthāna-va*°, (4) *rtu-va*°, (5) *pratyānaka-va*°, (6) *bhāṭṭādi-va*°, (7) *śmaśāna-va*° and (8) title missing.

From the account of various subjects described or listed in this work the very great value of the *V R*, as a compendium of life and culture in mediaeval India will be easily seen. The book in this respect will be to some extent comparable to the *Mānasollāsa* (12th century). In the glimpses it presents of the contemporary court-life and its surroundings, it calls to one's mind the famous *Ain-i-Akbarī* with its lists and detailed

accounts of various things. Although written a little over a century after the Turkī conquest of Northern India the work breathes a purely Hindu atmosphere. This fact is a sufficient indication of its genuineness, although the MS was copied some two centuries later.

The varying views of life in North Eastern India of the 15th century as presented in the *VR* affords a valuable commentary on the epigraphic as well as other literary records of the contemporary and earlier periods. List of court officials and such other persons as given in the description of court (*āsthāna-va*) for example is longer than similar lists in earlier Bengal and North-Eastern grants on copper plate. For the various other phases of cultural life of the period this work is of inestimable value. Sometimes it gives rare information. For example in describing different kinds of gambling it mentions the four-handed dice-chess or *caturāṅga* which has become thoroughly obsolete now. Those who are interested in the game may consult the Skt. text named the *Caturangadīpikā* published in 1934 in Calcutta Skt. Series. It gives the rules of the game and its history. Music and dance described in the 6th *Kallola* of the *VR* also afford important materials for the history of these two subjects.

Though the *VR* may have importance from different standpoints the present edition stresses very rightly on its character as a linguistic document. For the *VR* is one of a comparatively small number of authentic works in a modern Indo-Aryan language, which goes back to the 14th century. In the language of the learned editor, its position is equally important with the 'Caryās and the 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana in Bengali, the 'Jñā-mśvarī in Marāṭhī and the earlier old Western Rājasthānī, Brāj-bhākhā and Awadhī works.

Prof. Chatterji, the chief editor of the work, in a very learned introduction, has pointed out among other things manifold importance of the work and discussed very thoroughly the life and times of the author as well as the varied contents of the work. The discussion of the language of the *VR* which forms a part of this introduction is all what can be expected from the hands of a veteran student of Modern Indo-Aryan like Prof. Chatterji. But, as he has admitted (p. xxv), quite a number of terms used in the work remains obscure. It is hoped that scholars of Mithilā will try to rescue these words which might have sought refuge with the pure Maithilī idiom of the lower classes. They may be easily gathered from the well prepared index of words which has been appended to the book. After all that have

been said before it seems needless to add that the volume under review has made important addition to materials for reconstruction of the various phases of the culture of North-Eastern India. The learned editors and the Royal Asiatic Society have earned the gratitude of scholars by this important publication.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

PRAVEŚAKA by Acyuta Piśārati, edited with Laghuvṛtti by P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, published by the Sanskrit College Committee, Tūppunithura, 1938

The Praveśaka, an easy treatise on Skt grammar in verse, was written in the latter half of the 16th century by the famous Kerala poet and grammarian Acyuta Piśārati. The advantage of versification in helping memorisation can easily be understood. Hence it is found that more authors than one have composed metrical treatises on Sanskrit grammar. As is very natural for a practical hand-book written for general students this work does not scrupulously follow the Pāṇinian tradition. But in spite of this a study of the present work will give one a working knowledge of Sanskrit grammar necessary for writing and speaking the language correctly. This excellent work was in ms up till the present time when through the munificence of the Maharaja of Cochin it has been published. The editor who has added a lucid Sanskrit commentary of his own to the work may be said to have done his duty properly. The printing of the work is good.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

VĀRARUCA-NIRUKTA SAMUCCAYA edited by C. Kunhan Raja. University of Madras. 1938. pp. xliii + 82 + 88.

This is a short work in which about one hundred Vedic mantras are commented upon. The work which has never been known before has been edited from a single ms in the possession of the Adyar Library. Though more than one work was ascribed to Vararuci it does not seem possible to have any definite information about the life and time of the author of the present treatise. From the title it appears that the work has something to do with the Nirukta of Yāska and in fact the contents of the work amply shows his dependence in many cases on the famous Vedic interpreter of antiquity. Vedic mantras commented upon in this work have been divided into *Kalpas*.

In classifying the mantras the author of the *Vātarucanīrukta-Samuccaya* followed to a considerable extent a tradition different from the one followed in the *Bṛhaddevatā*. This latter work has divided the mantras into 36 classes while in the work under review we have 32 classes of mantras, and the two works have names of fifteen classes in common. But curiously enough when one takes into consideration the examples of these 15 classes given in the two works there does not appear much correspondence. The learned editor has among other things drawn attention to this fact. Besides this the present work offers other features which will interest students of Vedic exegetical literature. The editor of the work Dr C K Raja seems to have done his work with all possible care and may be congratulated on its publication.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

BHĀRATVARSA-MEM JĀTIBHED (*Hindī*) by Prof Kshatimohan Sen Shastri, M A, published by S Sharma, Calcutta, 1940, pages D/C 1/16, 11 + 264

Caste which is a peculiar Indian institution has for a long time been a target of attack by social and religious reformers as well as politicians. It cannot be said that this attack was unmerited. But zealous critics of caste have often in their enthusiasm lost sight of the historical background of this institution and subjected Indian society in general to undeserved condemnation. Hence the present work discussing the nature and origin of Indian caste from the standpoint of history has been a welcome addition to our knowledge of Indian society and its one great problem.

In course of tracing the history of caste Prof. Sen has shown among other things that this institution was very elastic in the earlier period (pp 24-43) and when caste gradually became rigid, reaction set against it, and evidence of such reaction is to be met with even in some Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* (pp 45, 47, 51-53). Besides this he has discussed thoroughly other aspects of caste with suitable references and quotations from works ancient as well as modern, and seemed to have cleared some obscure points in the history of Indian caste-system. Specialists as well as general readers will find this work very useful and interesting. Prof. Sen is already well-known for his valuable work in connection with mystics (*Santas*) of medieval India and it may be hoped that this work will add to his reputation.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

SULTAN MUHAMMED QULI QUTUB SHAH by Dr. Syed Mohiuddin Qadri Zore, M.A., Ph.D (London). Published by the Idara-i-Adabyat-i-Urdu. Hyderabad, Deccan

This monograph in Urdu comes out from the pen of Dr. Zore, Head of the Department of Urdu, Osmania University

Sultan Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah, renowned Urdu poet, founder of the city of Hyderabad, succeeded to the throne at the age of about 15 years, (to be exact he was 14 years 6 months and 8 days old), as the fifth Qutub Shahi king. In this book the author has attempted to present a true and vivid picture of the social, intellectual, and cultural life of that period, as culled out from various unpublished sources, of which he has made ample use.

The author has very ably utilised the verses, poems and other poetic composition of this monarch, as well as, of other court poets. Being himself a poet of no mean standard, he has succeeded in drawing an accurate portrait of the king. Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah has to his credit no less than 5670 verses in Urdu and Persian. Unfortunately his Telugu verses are lost for ever. No wonder his brilliant mastery over this language knitted him closer to his subjects. Although dubbed by some as the Happy-go-lucky monarch, it is under him Golconda rose to the peak of power, with peace, prosperity, and plenty.

This book contains ten chapters, dealing with his succession, his taste and aptitude for fine arts. Three chapters are devoted to the cultural, social, intellectual and other aspects of his reign, while the fifth describes the wars, and the sixth speaks of his administration, seventh announces his demise. The last three chapters (8, 9, 10) go to prove his wider and saner outlook of life and his magnificent contribution to Urdu.

When we say all these things, we do not mean to say that the Sultan was free from vices. Far from it, his own admission of his faults ring in our ears. There was more of romance in his temperament than in his career. Yet with all his shortcomings, he stands out prominent in the galaxy of rulers of the Deccan. Truly, then in forming an estimate of the character and achievements of Sultan Muhammed Quli Qutub Shah we may point out to the city of Hyderabad, and by way of epitaph on the grave of Sultan Muhammed Quli, we may inscribe the old verse

'Si monumentum requiris circumspice' (If you require a monument look around you).

We congratulate the author for his work, and hope that in near future he would give us its English version for the use of scholars all over India. The book is nicely printed with a useful index and 19 photo blocks, for which the *Idara-i-adabyat-i-Urdu* deserves our compliments.

K. SAJUN LAI

Select Contents of the Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VI, pt. 2

- P K GONÉ—*Date of Rāmairtha Yati the Author of a Commentary on the Sanksepāśārinaka—Between A D 1525 and 1575*
- SERIAL PUBLICATIONS—*Editions of the Jivānandanam of Ānandarāya Makhin and the Āpastambasmṛti*, English Translations of the *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra* with *Devasvāmībhāṣya* and the *Gopālātāpanya-upaniṣad* and the Edition of the *Acyutarāyābhilyudaya* of Rājanātha Dindima continue to appear in the Journal. The *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* of Vedāntadeśika and the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* and the *Vṛtti* of Dinnāga with the commentary of Dharmapāli are completed in this issue

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol VIII, no 4 (October, 1942)

- P D CHAUDHURY—*The Khonamukh Copper plate Grant of Dharmapāla of Prāgyyotisa*. It relates to a set of three copper-plates recording the grant of a plot of land by the Kāmarūpa king Dharmapāla of the 12th century to a Brāhmana at Khonamukh in Nowgong in Assam. The plates containing genealogies of the donor and the donee were made in the first year of the king's reign, and are therefore earlier than the other copper-plate inscriptions previously published.
- N K BHATTASAMI—*The Badgangā Rock Inscription of Mahāājādhnāja Bhūtivarman*. This inscription in Gupta script records the establishment of a religious asylum (śrāma) by a minister of king Bhūtivarman, a great predecessor of king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Bearing as it does the date 234th year of the Gupta era (554 A C), this becomes the earliest inscription hitherto discovered in Assam.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXVIII, pt 1 (March, 1942)

- P C. MANUK—*Indian Painting*. This paper deals in broad outline with the history and development of 'Pictorial Art' in India up to the recent past, beginning from the pre-historic period representing drawings in red pigment found on the walls of caves in C.P. and U.P.
- D R. REGMI.—*Sources for a History of Nepal (880 A.D.—1680 A.D.)*. Inscriptions, genealogical chronicles, old manuscripts, foreign accounts

and coins are found helpful in gathering information from the time of Rāghavadeva to that of the pre-Gorkha Malla Karnātakas, covering a period of eight hundred years of Nepalese history

- R OJHA — *The Indra-Vrtra War and 'Serpent People'* Mythical stories similar to that of the struggle between Indra and Vrtra as found in the Vedic and Purāṇic literature were known to the ancient people of Babylonia, Egypt, Greece and Persia. The Jews and the Hittites had also the myth among them in some form or other. This may be due to a common origin or a borrowing from the pre-Aryan mythology. Prevalence of serpent worship and reference to 'serpent people' are also a characteristic feature of the mythological accounts of the various peoples of ancient times inhabiting a wide area of the globe. This may be due to the fact that the serpent-worshipping people had spread from the Mediterranean coasts to the plains of India.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. 12, no. 1 (January, 1942)

- K A NILAKANTA SASIRI — *Dvīpāntara* The Chinese equivalent of the term Dvīpāntara is Kouen-louen, applied to 'the Islands and the continent of the Southern Seas' in Indonesia. The word Dvīpāntara found in the *Raghuvamśa*, *Kathasaritsāgara* and the Tamil *Guruparamparai* seems to have been used as a proper name signifying the Malaya peninsula, which was naturally referred to as the other island across the sea by the Indians.
- S K SARASWATI — *Temples at Pagan*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XX, pt. 3 (December, 1941)

- DIRINDRA NATH MOOKERJEE — *Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu* Candragupta who, according to Jaina tradition, abdicated his throne and retired to the South as a follower of the Jaina sage Bhadrabāhu, was the Gupta monarch Vikramāditya Candragupta and not the founder of the Mauryan empire. The sage whom he accompanied was also the Upāṅgi Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II and not the Śrutakevalin Bhadrabāhu. The era starting from 58 B.C. was founded, as the writer of the paper believes, by this Candragupta. His retirement from the world therefore took place in the first century B.C.

- BAJINATH PURI — *The Dates of the Kadphises Kings and their Relations with the Śaka Ksatrapas of Western India*

- H. K. SHIRWANI—*Establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom* The Reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Shāh.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,
1941, part 4

- HUGO BUCHTHAL—*Indian Fables in Islamic Art* The fables in the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* were translated into Pehlvi in the 6th century of the Christian era. In the 8th century, they were rendered into Arabic in a somewhat Islamic garb, and the collection was called by the Muhammadans the 'Fables of Bidpai' or the 'Book of Kalila wa Dimna'. The vivid narratives being eminently suitable for portraiture, the illustrated manuscripts of 'Fables of Bidpai' found favour in some Muhammadan courts of the Arabic world. The earliest Bidpai manuscript with the miniature painting dates from the 13th century and comes from the court of a prince of Northern Syria. The art of these miniatures betrays considerable Christian influence from the neighbouring Christian territories. In the succeeding periods of the Islamic Mongols the manuscripts of the Persian translations of the fables also continued to be decorated with miniature paintings with this difference that they now began to be inspired by the artistic traditions of the East.
- W. RUBIN—*The Puranic Line of Heroes* A comparison of the Sambhava-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* on the one hand, and the Vamśaparvans of the *Harivamśa* and the *Brahma, Viṣṇu* and other Purāṇas on the other, as also a scrutiny of the accounts of Kṛṣṇa's activities given in these works show that even the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is indebted in some respects to the *Brahmapurāṇa* which is regarded by the Purāṇas themselves as the *Ādipurāṇa* which again has borrowed from the *Harivamśa*, a supplement and an imitation of the *Mahābhārata*.
- New Indian Antiquary, vol. V, no. 1 (April, 1942)**
- R. C. HAZRA—*The Devī-purāṇa* The *Devī-purāṇa* is one of the important Upapurāṇas dealing with the exploits and worships of Devī. It contains information regarding literature on the worship of Śakti. The main body of the work is believed to have been composed in the latter half of the seventh century of the Christian era somewhere in the vicinity of Tamruk in Bengal. A list of verses quoted from the *Devī-purāṇa* in later works has been appended to the paper.

Ibid., vol. V, no. 2 (May, 1942)

SURES CHANDRA BANERJĪ—*The Dīpakalikā of Śūlapānī with special Reference to the Vyavahāra Section.* The *Dīpakalikā* is a commentary on the *Yājñavalkyasamhitā* by the Bengal scholiast Śūlapānī. The special features of the commentary have been pointed out and the available mss. of the work have been described in this note

Poona Orientalist, vol. VI, nos. 3 & 4 (October 1941 & January 1942)

S. M. KATRE—*On the Present Needs of Indian Linguistics*

H. G. NARAHARI—*On the Origin of the Upanisadic Thought* Arguments are put forward in the paper to show that the philosophical ideas of the Upanisads were a logical development of the earlier speculations of the Brāhmanas. The Ksatriya princes acquired proficiency in the Upanisadic thoughts by coming in contact with the erudite Brāhmanas who used to gather in the courts of those days for exhibiting their skill in philosophical discourses

P. K. GODE.—*The Historical Background of the Cimançarita* This romantic poem in Sanskrit composed in the 17th century by a pupil of Bhaṭṭojī Dīksita deals with the love of the daughter-in-law of Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān, a minister of rank in the Mughal court

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*Subjects of Law and Law of Family according to the Yājñavalkyadharmasāstra*

M. P. L. SASTRY—*The Word Sarasvatī in Sanskrit Literature* The different meanings of the word have been dealt with

D. R. MANKAD—*The Yugas* The methods of the yuga calculations have been discussed and the number of years given to each yuga ascertained.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJĪ—*Titthiviveka of Śūlapānī* Edited

V. V. DIXI—*Relation of Epics to Brāhmaṇa Literature* Continues.

